MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

....VITAMQUE IMPENDERE VERO.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

By J. P. BEAUMONT.

PART I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR ALLEN AND WEST, N° 15, PATER-NOSTER ROW.

M,DCC,XCIV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE intention in publiſhing this Edition of the Memoirs of the Life of General Dumourier is to preſent the Public with authentic Particulars of that celebrated Character in as convenient a form and at as little expence as poſſible; Conciſeneſs has, therefore, been ſtudied where it could be adopted without omitting facts, or injuring the ſenſe of the Work: with this view the Tranſlator has ſubſtituted ſome prefatory Obſervations of his own, inſtead of the long and unintereſting polititical Diſquiſitions of which the Preface to the Original is compoſed.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST PART.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

THE Hiſtories of all Governments in which the populace have had a conſiderable ſhare, abound with ſtriking inſtances of ingratitude; and the ſubject of the preſent Memoirs may be regarded as a conſpicuous example of the mutability of fortune, and the tranſient applauſe of public favour.

Cauſes imperceptibly ſlow in their accumulation, but ſudden and ſtupendous in their effects, have violently ſhaken the political ſyſtems of Europe, and involved a large, a beautiful, and a populous country in the moſt horrible calamities: to trace thoſe cauſes with accuracy, and to deſcribe their conſequences with candour and truth, is a taſk that can be only committed with propriety to the pen of ſome future Hiſtorian, who ſhall be remote from the conflicts of prejudice, and uninfluenced by the attachments of partiality.

The delay however that is neceſſary to produce the value of hiſtory, does not accord with public impatience; and every detail relative to the ſurpriſing

priſing events that have happened within theſe few years on the Continent, is peruſed with the greateſt avidity: to prevent, therefore, as much as poſſible, the forming of erroneous opinions, it is neceſſary to point out the ſources of information which are *now* the moſt authentic, and from this motive it is juſtifiable to recommend THESE MEMOIRS, independently of the curious particulars they contain. The writer of them has performed a very active part on the Revolutionary ſtage, and is at preſent the perſon moſt qualified to explain to us the intricacies of that political drama. It will not be wonderful, if in his delineations he have preſerved only the leading features of veracity; for the talents of Dumourier are known to have been connected with intrigue, and in the ſcenes he deſcribes he was perſonally and deeply intereſted; ſo that the judicious reader of an apology for the conduct of ſuch a character, will indulge with caution the eagerneſs of curioſity.

In the dangers of war, and the arts of negotiation, Dumourier has been equally diſtinguiſhed; and if in attempting to combine the character of a ſoldier, a ſtateſman, and an author, he yield to the ſuperior genius of a Cæſar and a Frederick, Fame has yet preſerved a niche in her temple for the diminutive hero, and the ſucceſs that attend-

ed

ed his military career will not be attributed entirely to fortune.

Expatriated by the influence of the Jacobins, ſuſpected and diſcountenanced by the confederate powers, Dumourier is now compelled to retire from that ſphere of activity in which nature deſtined him to move, and to mourn in ſolitude the calumny, and perſecution, with which his ungrateful countrymen have rewarded the brilliant victory of Jemappe, and the rapid acquiſition of Belgia.

To this cauſe Europe is doubtleſs indebted for an ingenious diſplay of the myſteries of the French Revolution; in this ſolitude, has Dumourier recorded the motives and the actions of himſelf and his contemporaries: they are thus publiſhed to the world, and if not illuſtrated with the profoundeſt wiſdom, are at leaſt narrated with livelineſs and perſpicuity, and accompanied by a profitable ſhrewdneſs of remark.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER.

FOR THE YEAR 1793.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Early Incidents of Dumourier's Life—Commencement of the Revolution—State and Characters of Parties in France.

THE General begins his memoirs at an advanced period of the Revolution; but for the ſatisfaction of our readers we preſent them with the moſt material incidents of the earlier part of the life of this celebrated character. He was born at Cambray in the year 1739, of reſpectable rather than wealthy parents; at the age of eighteen he entered the army, and at twenty-two, having ſignalized himſelf on various occaſions, and received many wounds, his merit was rewarded by the Croſs of the Order of St. Louis.

After ſeveral gradations of ſervice he was in the year 1769 promoted to the rank of colonel, and in 1770 was ſent to Poland in a public capacity by the Duke de Choiſeul, then Miniſter of France.

The negotiations of the French cabinet and the resistance of the confederates proving ineffectual, the partition of Poland took place, and Dumourier returned into his own country; when in 1772, being employed by Louis XV. in some secret business relative to the Swedish revolution, and without the knowledge of the Duke d'Aiguillon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, he was exposed to the displeasure of the latter, and by a Lettre de Cachet conducted to the Bastile, where he remained till the death of the monarch, and the disgrace of the duke. Soon after the commencement of the reign of Louis XVI. Dumourier regained his liberty; from the year 1775 to 1788 he was employed in various departments of public utility, and in 1789 appointed Commandant of Cherbourg, which place he had formed the design of improving into a national harbour. In that post he behaved with great firmness, and at the beginning of the Revolution, by his authority, considerably checked the ebullitions of popular tumult. Dumourier afterwards went to Paris, where he remained for two years, and in 1791 was appointed to command the country from Nantes to Bourdeaux, in which situation he endeavoured as much as possible to put an end to the disorders in La Vendée. In February 1792 he was recalled to Paris, and created Lieutenant General and Minister of Foreign Affairs. After various ministerial arrangements Dumourier resigned his situation as an adviser of the Sovereign, and took the command of the army; then commenced the most important part of Dumourier's life: under his successful auspices the Prussians were expelled from Champagne—the battle of Jamappe was gained—and the conquest of the Netherlands added a temporary splendor to the French Republic; but the courage that the French

had

had displayed in defending their liberties, was vitiated by imprudence and faction; the rapidity of their success persuaded them they were invincible, and the folly of extending their conquests could only be equalled by the rapacity and tyrannic violence with which they manifested their *fraternal sentiments*.

The constitution of France was now destroyed; the King was imprisoned, and the country divided into two formidable factions, the Girondists (or Provincials) and the Jacobins of Paris. Among the former were many men of talents and eloquence, but of a subtile and intriguing character; for their own purposes they had assisted in destroying the constitution; when that had fallen, they affected to make distinctions in anarchy, and to establish their own power by the acquiescence of other governments. This conduct procured them the disdainful epithet of Politicians, or Men of the Cabinet; and their antagonists did not fail to expose and to reproach their intrigues. The party of Gironde had the greatest influence in the Assembly, and for a time the possession of the government: the Jacobins in effect ruled the city of Paris, its mob was at their devotion; and they had corrupted and attached to their cause the federates who were invited from Marseilles and other places by the opposite party. The leaders of the Jacobins were men of bolder talents, though of inferior education: their characters were turbulent and ferocious; they were careless of appearances, and pursued without disguise or remorse, every measure that tended to the dissolution of order, the plunder of property, and the insecurity of life.

Such were the men under whose alternate influence France deservingly incurred the odium of Europe. By clubs and cabals were the most important interests of the

nation diſcuſſed, and the baneful contagion was communicated to Geneva and Savoy. General Cuſtine had taken Worms, Spire, and Mayence, but by a ſtrange neglect, did not enter Coblentz; he had evacuated Franckfort, the inhabitants of which ſeverely experienced the rapacity and licentious inſolence of the French troops. Between the army of Cuſtine and that of Dumourier in the Netherlands, there was one commanded by General Bournonville, which had been much weakened in an ill-conducted and unſucceſsful expedition againſt Treves. The remains of this army having retired into cantonments in Lorraine, the Auſtrians and Pruſſians took poſſeſſion of the ſpace it had left open, and put an end to the communication between Cuſtine and Dumourier.

The Miniſter of the War Department, Pache and his colleagues, had a perſonal enmity to Dumourier; by their treachery the army was completely diſorganized, the troops were both in want of diſcipline and ſubſiſtence, and the people of the Netherlands were inflamed to a high degree of diſcontent; for Cambon, Miniſter of Finance, had formed a raſh and unjuſt project of ſequeſtering the public treaſures of Belgium: a decree was framed for that purpoſe, and ſix commiſſioners were ſent to put it in execution. The ſanction of a decree could not ſhield this robbery from the deteſtation it deſerved, and the profligate characters of the commiſſioners aſſiſted to prevent the union of the Netherlands with France. Danton, a man of a vehement and deciſive temper, but with a mind unpoliſhed by education, and in perſon and manners extremely coarſe and diſguſting; La Croix, a bully and a debauchee, deſtitute of all principle; Camus, a Janſeniſt, haughty, pedantic, and conceited; Trielhard, a character nearly of the ſame

deſcription;

description; Merlin of Douay, a well-intentioned but fractious man, and extravagantly speculative in his political opinions; Gossuin, without any other qualities than brutality and ferocity; to these thirty-two assistant commissioners were added, creatures of the Jacobin Club, and who, by the most odious violence, attempted to force the Belgians to incorporate themselves with France. The tree of liberty was planted amidst the threatening clash of arms. The emissaries of the Jacobins treated their unfortunate allies with every species of outrage and insult; churches were plundered; private property arbitrarily confiscated; and all who dared to murmur at these excesses were imprisoned as suspicious persons. At Paris the Mountain, (or Jacobin) and the Girondine party, who still divided the Convention, began more openly to manifest their animosity against each other; but notwithstanding their mutual hatred, they both agreed in the persecution of the King, whom it was determined to bring to trial; nor were the Girondists aware that soon after promoting with all their influence the accomplishment of this common measure, themselves would become the victims of the Anarchists, and receive the reward of malice and of murder. During the conflict of these parties in the Convention incendiary tumults and assassinations distracted the city of Paris, a city proudly compared to Rome, but without Roman policy, and with more than the ferocity even of Republican manners; a city abandoned to licentiousness, and in which, during a few years, crimes have been committed whose number and enormity would seem the accumulation of many centuries.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Famous Decree of the 19th of November 1792—The State of the Army, and Dumourier's Remonſtrances thereon.

THE Convention, on the 19th of November 1792, iſſued a fulminating decree, by which they invited the people of Europe to throw off their allegiance to their lawful ſovereigns, and promiſed to aſſiſt in their attempts ſuch as were ſo diſpoſed. This decree, independently of its being a violent outrage on the law of nations, was in fact a vain and empty boaſt, and ill ſuited with the neglected ſtate of the French military eſtabliſhment. Dumourier, who had been appointed War Miniſter in June 1792, and which poſt he held but three days, during that time read to the Aſſembly a ſpirited memorial, complaining that the army was badly organized and provided, and that unleſs it became an object of immediate attention the public liberty would loſe its moſt effectual ſupport. This memorial paſſed without notice, and the campaign commenced under every diſadvantage; victory, however, attended the footſteps of the General: the demagogues of faction purſued him with the moſt inſulting calumnies and abſurd accuſations, but could not entirely obſcure the reputation or deſtroy the influence his merit had acquired.

More effectual means were then uſed to ruin Dumourier. The reſources of the army were delayed or with-held, and the intereſts of the nation ſacrificed to the gratification of a baſe malignity. Servan had been Lieutenant Colonel in the month of May preceding: he was afterwards War Miniſter, but perceiving the difficulties of that department, pretended ſickneſs, reſigned, and was appointed General of the Army of the Pyrenees. This man, ſickly in the cabi-

net, and healthy in the field, was an instance of the salutary reform produced by the Revolution in the allotment of public places!

By the influence of Roland, minister of the Interior, Pache was appointed to succeed Servan in the War Department: he chose for his assistants Audouin his son-in-law; Meusnier an academician, a man of some talent, but of extreme depravity of mind; and one Vandermond, a furious Jacobin, of the most vulgar manners, and who in consequence of some villainous transactions, had formerly changed his name from Le Leivre to Hassenfratz. The business of the War Office was soon thrown into confusion by these new ministers: the old commissaries were discharged, or dragged to prison on the most frivolous pretences; the experienced clerks were turned out of their places, and succeeded by the most contemptible, rascally, and sanguinary Jacobins; while the mischievous cant of equality destroyed every appearance of official subordination. Such were the circumstances under which was begun a campaign of the greatest difficulty and hazard; the generals of all the armies were alarmed and remonstrated, commissioners were sent by the Convention to enquire into these complaints, which their reports fully justified. Pache was ordered to the bar, but the Convention passed to the order of the day, and he and his associates escaped with impunity. The manufactories of Paris were to supply the wants of the armies; but by a system of the grossest mismanagement and peculation cloth and leather were bought along the banks of the Meuse and conveyed to Paris, and after the materials had been manufactured, cloaks, shoes, &c. were sent from Paris to the armies at nearly three times the price for which they might have been procured

at

at Antwerp and Liege: added to theſe circumſtances, it was very difficult for General Dumourier to bring his troops into a tolerable habit of military diſcipline: they were partly compoſed of volunteers, unaccuſtomed to ſervice, and alſo infected with the licentious ſpirit of the times. The captains, lieutenants, and ſubaltern officers, were choſen by the ſoldiers, and conſequently ſubject to the moſt inſolent and capricious treatment.

The neceſſitous ſtate of the army, together with this diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, occaſioned the moſt violent exceſſes: hunger, and the rage of diſeaſe, contributed largely to reduce its numbers; in ſhort, the city of Liege was a grave in which Frenchmen were immolated by heaps, while every ſtraggling ſoldier was cut off by the revenge of the plundered peaſants. By theſe diſaſters, General Dumourier was prevented from obliging Clairfait to repaſs the Rhine, and therefore reſolved at any rate to ſecure the Meuſe, having ordered the army of the Ardennes, conſiſting of 15,000 men, commanded by General Valence, to join him: he placed them on his right in the countries of Stavelo, Malmedy, Spa, Verviers, and Huy; the Meuſe from Givet to Namur was occupied by General D'Harville, with a body of 18,000 men; his out-poſts were Ciney, Marche, and Rochefort. General Miranda's army occupied the left from Tongres to Ruremonde, and conſiſted alſo of 18,000 men. Battalions newly arrived from Paris garriſoned the Netherlands; the line thus formed along the Meuſe amounted to between 65 and 70,000 troops: it might have ſeized on the country between the Meuſe and the Rhine, and occupied the banks of the latter from Burick to Cologne; but to have done this it would have been neceſſary firſt to take Maeſtricht; this Dumourier had

in

in his power, but was not permitted to do from reasons of imaginary policy; secondly, to place a garrison in Juliers, but this was also not suffered, that the Elector Palatine might not in displeasure deliver the pass of Manheim to the Austrians, and cut off Custine's army from Alsace; lastly, that the army of Belgia should by proper supplies of provision, arms, money, and cloathing, have been enabled to march in December, when the Imperialists might have been compelled to repass the Rhine. It appeared to General Dumourier that it would be impossible for him to preserve even his position on the Meuse, while not in possession of Guelders, Venloo, Maestricht, nor Juliers; and he communicated this opinion in letters to the Convention and the Minister at War. Towards the end of the November preceding, Dumourier had come to a rupture with Pache, the War Minister, with the Jacobins who were his supporters, and with the Convention, whose blind folly neither prevented nor punished the scandalous treatment of the armies. In December the trial of Louis XVI. commenced: preparatory to his intended exertions on behalf of this mild and injured Sovereign, Dumourier endeavoured to find out if the sentiments of his army were favourable to their Monarch; the attempt was unsuccessful, for neither officers nor soldiers discovered the least sensibility to the situation of the King, but perceived with disgust this measure of their General; who therefore in this state of affairs, felt himself urgently inclined to visit Paris, and try the effect of his personal influence.

CHAP. III.

Departure of Dumourier from Liege to Paris.

THE palace of the Prince Bishop was Dumourier's residence at Liege, and there he anxiously brooded over the gloomy aspect of public affairs. His victories had but served to increase the calumnies of faction; and feeling himself implicated in the fate of France, he beheld, with the keenest regret, the advantages acquired by success lose their value by neglect and criminality, and the councils of his country dictated by rapacity and violence. By letters and memorials he endeavoured to excite an attention to the true interests of the nation; but his advice was neglected or disdained, and the shallow philosophy of revolutionary eloquence asserted that republics might practise ingratitude as a virtue. Recompences were with-held from the conquering soldiers of the general because he had applauded their valour, and the nomination of officers made by the different generals were annulled; new officers were sent from Paris, and the fruits of conquest due to veterans were to be gathered by inexperience and ignorance: of these evils Dumourier complained, and threatened to resign if they did not meet with immediate redress. He also earnestly requested, as an indispensible measure, the revocation of the decree, by which the public property of Belgia was sequestered, and which had excited the most serious agitation. It was, however, determined that the decree should begin to operate on the 1st of January. The honour of the general stimulated him to oppose its execution by all the means in his power; for on his first entrance into the Netherlands he had proclaimed the Belgians to be the friends and brethren of the French, and promised his protection

protection of their own choice in civil and religious institutions. Cambon, the author of this absurd and iniquitous decree, proposed it as a method to defray the expences of the war; it was, however, productive of no advantage to France: it even deprived her of 40,000 men, and treasure to the amount of fifty thousand livres, with which the Belgians would chearfully have assisted the common cause. By the decree it was ordered that the generals should cause the seals to be put on the public property; Dumourier spurned at this dishonourable office, and it was given to a set of scoundrels, who secreted for their own use a considerable part of the plunder. These infamous transactions intirely alienated the minds of the Belgians from a connection with France. On these and other vexatious topics Dumourier explained his sentiments in a conference held at Liege, between the commissioners, the generals, and the administrators, who were to provide subsistence for the army. In this conference it clearly appeared that the army could not be supplied with provisions even to remain at Liege, much less to march forward; it was therefore resolved that Camus, the President of the Commission, should return to Paris, attended by General Thouvenot: the first to make a general report on the subject; the latter for the purpose of explaining to the Military Committee the necessities of the army, and particularly to obtain, if possible, a revocation of the odious decree that was likely to separate for ever the Belgic provinces from France. General Thouvenot was a man of talents; but the object of the embassy was defeated by the pride, conceit, and treachery of Camus, who arrogated to himself every opportunity of speaking on the business, neglected to urge the true state of the army, and defeated, by his obstinacy and

misrepresentation, the measure which Dumourier had principally at heart.

Beside the distresses of the army, and the treatment of Belgium, Dumourier had a still more interesting motive to visit Paris, for this was no other than an anxious desire to avert the doom that impended over the head of the unhappy Louis; and it was the intention of the General to produce if possible a delay of the trial, by urging the various plans necessary for the external defence of the country. These reflections agitated the mind of Dumourier, while his enemies, the Jacobins, vilified his character by asserting that he amused himself with courtezans and actresses. The Jacobins, fearing the personal influence of Dumourier, were unwilling that he should come to Paris; he found it, therefore, extremely difficult to obtain leave of absence; but the commissioners perceiving that the soldiers still preserved an attachment to their general, were compelled to declare in their letters, that if Dumourier should resign (which he had threatened to do if his desire was not complied with) the effect would be the immediate disbanding of the army. Previous to this time Dumourier had sent a proclamation from Liege, requiring the Belgians to convene their primary assemblies, for the purpose of chusing a constituent one: the commissioners perceived that such an event would deprive them of their power over the public treasures and the plunder of the churches; they therefore delayed to publish the proclamation, and afterwards forbid the primary assemblies to be held at Alost, the place on which Dumourier fixed, for the purpose of preventing the influence of the mob of Brussels. The general was taught this method by experience; for Louis XIV. might have avoided the licen-

tious

tious interference of the Parisian populace had he assembled the states-general at any of the provincial towns.

Dumourier finding the rapacity of the French governmen inexorable, and that Belgia was to be the victim of its tyranny, hastened on his journey to Paris, that he might try every means to facilitate the object that more importantly engaged his feelings and attention.

CHAP. IV.

Arrival of Dumourier at Paris—Incidents during his Abode there—Persecuted by La Bourdonnaye and Marat—Narrowly escapes Assassination.

ON the 1st of January Dumourier arrived at Paris, and being determined to avoid the reproach of courting popularity, which had been before imputed to him by the malice of the Jacobins, he remained five days in his apartments, composing memorials on the misconduct of which, while in the Netherlands, he had complained, and on the plans upon which the approaching campaign was to be conducted. These memorials were not communicated to the Convention, by the neglect of the President, Frielhard: Dumourier in a short letter insisted on their being produced, and on the 11th of January an account of the affair was given to the Convention. The memorials were not openly read there, but sent to a committee of twenty-one members lately formed under the name of the Committee of Public Safety. The sittings of this committee commenced on the 13th, and the memorials were read and discussed, the General being invited to assist; the grossest ignorance of the business was discovered, ridiculous disputes arose, and

not

not the leaſt progreſs was made at the end of the ſitting, which laſted three hours. Another and more particular memorial was demanded of the General; with ſuch a memorial Dumourier attended the ſecond ſitting, held on the evening of the 15th, but the members of the committee were very negligent in their attendance; the memorial, which was long, and contained a great number of very intereſting particulars, was but ſlightly examined, and no further notice was taken of the affair. In this ſitting General Valence read a memorial on the ſubject of new modelling the army, and ſupplying it with recruits, by incorporating the National Guards with the troops of the line; and this novel arrangement, the diſcuſſion of which would have been proper only in a time of profound peace, engaged the attention of an ignorant and frivolous committee, and the important conſiderations recommended by Dumourier were immediately forſaken. At the third ſitting General Biron read a preſſing memorial, expoſing the miſconduct of the new contractors and the Committee of Contracts; the War Miniſter was, in conſequence, ordered to attend, and was groſsly treated by the members of this committee, who were pleaſed with any occaſion of humbling a miniſter. The buſineſs was afterwards ſent to the cognizance of the Military Committee, the character of which was extremely diſreputable, and the members of which were by no means qualified to diſcuſs a ſubject of ſuch high national importance. Dumourier afterwards attended a fourth ſitting, when nothing of conſequence was tranſacted; the General therefore retired to a ſmall country-houſe at Clichy; but viſited Paris daily, being now entirely occupied by his wiſhes and exertions on behalf of the King. The General was never again required to attend the committee, and the

moſt

moſt important concerns of the nation were ſuſpended for the purpoſe of proſecuting the trial of the King, who, during the whole of that infamous proceeding, ſuffered all that the moſt diabolical malice and barbarity could inflict. Had the memorials of Dumourier met with deſerved notice, it was his intention to have avowed his ſentiments in favour of the King, and openly to have ſolicited the interference of the public; but the influence of the General began to decline, and he himſelf became an object of ſuſpicion and perſecution by the party whoſe criminal violence he had ſtrongly diſapproved. Dumourier was accuſed of having ſaid that his only motive in coming to Paris was "to ſave the moſt honeſt man in the kingdom:" this accuſation was firſt made by General La Bourdonnaye, in revenge for having been laſt year deprived of the command of the army of the North, on account of complaints made againſt him by Dumourier. This charge was triumphantly iterated by the ſanguinary faction of Marat, who urged it as a proof of Dumourier's treaſon. The appellation of "the moſt honeſt man," &c. had indeed been truely beſtowed by the General on the King in a letter written in 1791; but who that was acquainted with the mildneſs and amiability of that Monarch could have ſuppoſed it poſſible that ſo juſt a tribute to his virtues would draw down diſgrace and vengeance on the perſon by whom it was offered!

The General attended the council every day, and in the evening returned to Clichy, and never dined with any of the miniſters, but Le Brun and Garat; he even openly avoided the houſes of Monge, Miniſter of the Marine; Roland, Miniſter of the Home Department; Claviere, Miniſter of the Finances; and particularly that of Pache, the Miniſter of War.

The War Office had become a receptacle of filth and villainy; Haſſenfratz and Meuſnier, the infamous Satellites of Pache, and their creatures, were inceſſantly employed in fabricating depoſitions, and forging papers to ſupport a charge made by Haſſenfratz at the Jacobin Club, that twelve hundred thouſand livres had been embezzled by Dumourier in the Belgian Contracts.

Every poſſible method was taken to inflame the public againſt the General; men were inſtructed and paid to abuſe him in coffee-houſes, he himſelf heard a group of the moſt ignorant and licentious of the federates, propoſing to put his head on a pike; and one day being warned of his danger by a tradeſman who had been his neighbour, he eſcaped from theſe ruffians with great difficulty down a narrow paſſage.

Santerre, the brutal commander of the National Guards of Paris, pretended great attachment to Dumourier, and frequently preſſed him to dine with his brother-in-law: his deſign was to entice him into the company of Marat. Theſe invitations were always politely evaded by the General, who was compelled to treat the moſt abominable miſcreants with apparent reſpect, or riſk the danger of aſſaſſination. Another circumſtance rendered the ſituation of Dumourier critically dangerous; Marat had been caned on the Pontneuf by Colonel Weſterman, for having aſſerted in his Journal, that the Colonel was General Dumourier's creature, and the principal inſtrument of his peculations. Marat ſuppoſed the General himſelf to be the author of the inſult, and thirſted for revenge. Dumourier received every day innumerable cautions with reſpects to Marat's deſigns, and for the firſt time in his life found it neceſſary to carry piſtols in his pocket by way of defence. Du Bois

de

de Crancé, a despicable coward, but one of the most sanguinary of the Jacobins, confiding in his bulk and ferocious countenance, one day insulted Dumourier at table; the General by a manual application quickly reduced him to silence, and Du Bois de Crancé in revenge made the Hall of the Convention resound with his calumnies against Dumourier: a violent storm now threatened the General, and his resignation was eagerly expected as the signal for his arrest, trial, and destruction.

CHAP. V.

Trial of Louis XVI.—Conduct of the different Deputies, and Reflections of General Dumourier thereupon.

WITH similar fury and malignity did these disgraceful wretches precipitate the King's trial. Europe is in possession of the proofs, documents and pleadings on the occasion, and from them will posterity learn to stigmatize a nation by whom the decent appearances of humanity and the essential forms of justice were so grossly violated. Upwards of a hundred and fifty members of the Convention, printed and published their opinions previously to a knowledge of the facts that were absolutely necessary for their proper information on the subject; their votes therefore ought not to have been received in the decision; but every privilege of an accused man on his trial was withheld from the unfortunate Louis. It is much to be wondered at, that among the three hundred and ten members who braving assassination voted in favour of the King, none could be found to insist, that those Deputies who had given a previous opinion should not be entitled to vote;

 but

but let not these humane and adventrous men think this remark means to impute reproach. Would that the writer of these memoirs could confer upon their names a celebrity equal with the heroic energy that immortalized the plains of Marathon! To the Deputies who thus nobly distinguished themselves in the midst of an assembly infected with cruelty, depravity, and cowardice, the Royal Family of France will owe an everlasting obligation. Yes, just and feeling Citizens, receive the encomium of your sensibility and firmness from a soldier, who esteems your behaviour at that crisis more courageous than any he ever witnessed in battle, and exceeding in splendour the proudest military trophies!

The virtue you then displayed will in future times derive additional lustre from being contrasted in the same page with the intriguing conduct of the Girondists, and which it shall be the task of General Dumourier to expose to the chastisement of impartial history. It is difficult to discover whether the Girondists ever had it in contemplation to save their King; this party, while they governed the Convention and the Minister, in the confidence of success, aspired to perpetuate their power by the establishment of a Republic; they had entirely subdued the moderate and Royal Parties: the Daily Journals in the most esteem and circulation were composed and corrected by this party, and of course devoted to its political tenets, which were recommended and inforced by Gaudet, Vergniaux, La Source, Brissot, Gensonné, and Condorcet, men of the greatest eloquence in the Convention; the principal Committees were also under their management. Sieyes and Condorcet were at the head of the Committee of the Constitution; Brissot and Gensonné jointly ruled the Diplomatic Committee with that of General Safety; the Financial Committee was at the

devotion

devotion of Cambon, who at that time appeared to be the friend of the Girondiſts; and Pethion as Mayor of Paris procured them a powerful influence over that city. Elated by proſperity this faction did not ſcruple to manifeſt an intention of eſtabliſhing its power on the ruins of the Conſtitutional Monarchy, Pethion while accompanying the King and Queen on their return from Varennes, frequently declared, that he did not mean to give the Monarchy any further ſupport; the Queen acquainted Dumourier with this fact, and Pethion afterwards acknowledged its truth in converſation with the General; but circumſtances were intirely altered in the month of November 1792, and the popularity of *King Pethion* (as he was called in Paris) rapidly declined; the Jacobins aſſiſted by the Marſeillois now became aſcendant; Pethion was ſucceeded in the Mayoralty by a weak, but honeſt man, named Chambon, who had neither power nor reſpect; the ſections were ruled by the Jacobins, and the commune of Paris aſſumed the independent exerciſe of a power frequently ſuperior to that of the Convention. By the influence of Barbaroux, who was Deputy for Marſeilles, a new body of men were to be brought from thence; and Roland, then Miniſter of the Interior, was employed to invite the arrival of more federates from the departments, to releaſe the Convention from the bondage of intimidation in which it was held by the firſt body of Marſeillois. This was a ſtep highly imprudent, tending directly to produce a civil war, unleſs the *new* federates ſhould alſo be gained by the Jacobins, and which afterwards actually happened. Theſe intrigues of the Girondiſts were pointedly unmaſked by Danton, La Croix, Roberſpierre and Marat; and even the impartial Members of the Convention conſidered the ambition of that Jeſuitical

party as highly dangerous: it was then that decision ſhould have marked the conduct of its leaders; they ſhould have maintained the innocence, and oppoſed the ſentence of the King, and if they had fallen in the attempt would have been remembered with honour. Had the Girondine party acted thus, ſucceſs would moſt probably have attended their efforts; but being deſtitute of the courage neceſſary for their ſituation, they propoſed an inadequate appeal to the people, and by ſo doing imprudently incurred the odium of again holding out a ſignal for a civil war. Though the Girondiſts yielded to the torrent, their cowardice in voting on the ſide of Jacobins did not ſecure themſelves. Thus did the amiable monarch fall a victim to the villainy of ſhallow intriguers and blood-thirſty anarchiſts: even Pethion, previous to giving his vote for death, damped the riſing ſenſations of pity, by calling to remembrance, and attributing to the King the diſmal events of the 9th and 10th of Auguſt.

The opinion of Condorcet, though leſs explicit in terms, was to the ſame effect. Briſſot, Genſonné, and Vergniaux, eagerly gave a ſimilar vote, though it was known to be in direct contradiction to their own ſentiments. There was no accuſation of ſufficient weight to juſtify the ſentence of Louis XVI. he was totally innocent of the imputed crimes of the 10th of Auguſt. Carra impudently publiſhed in his journal, that a plan for the tranſactions of that day was previouſly prepared by a committee of five perſons, among whom were himſelf, Pethion, and Roberſpierre; and had this paper of Carra's been produced on the trial, it would have afforded full evidence that the King had merely taken up arms in his own defence. An unaccountable and fatal concurrence of events accelerated the fate of the unfortunate king; even the Emigrants, with a

miſtaken

mistaken zeal in his behalf, hastened the catastrophe: for Bertrand, who had been Minister of the Marine, and was then a refugee in England, thought to do the King a service by sending to the Convention some authentic papers, which proved that the leaders of both parties had privately negociated with Louis. In these papers Danton and La Croix were deeply implicated; so that, to save their credit, by burying in oblivion the proofs of their intrigues, they endeavoured, with united efforts, to precipitate the King's death.

CHAP. VI.

Various Expedients of Dumourier to prevent the Fate of the King—Sentiments and Behaviour of the People of Paris—Anecdote of a Tradesman, &c.

IT has been alledged by the Emigrants that Dumourier was culpable for not availing himself of the attachment of his army, by leading it to Paris, for the purpose of rescuing the King; this accusation could only proceed from ignorance and mistake: for in the first place the influence of Dumourier over the army was always precarious, and subsequent events have proved that it was not to be trusted; secondly, this very army was distant from Paris upwards of a hundred leagues, and deficient in all the necessaries for a march, being unable to quit Liege without risking the loss of its artillery for want of horses: this movement would have left that country open to the Austrians, who would certainly have taken the advantage; besides such an act of treachery against the interests of the French nation would most probably have caused an immediate sacri-

fice

fice of the General and his principal officers; thirdly, it was abſurd to expect that an army, which was not in a condition to proceed to the Rhine, a diſtance of only twenty leagues, ſhould have undertaken the march to Paris. A project, however, of the kind was conceived by Dumourier, who thought of conducting to Paris, not the whole of his army, but a detachment choſen from the troops of the line. This meaſure, indeed, appeared to him in a dangerous light, by the example of La Fayette; ſome legal form was therefore neceſſary to give it a ſanction, and to induce the ſoldiers to execute it without diſtruſt. The General had frequently written to the leaders of the Girondine party, and in particular to the verſatile Barrere, that if a decree, however ſhort, were iſſued by the Convention, he would march 20,000 men to their aſſiſtance, and relieve them from the factious turbulence by which they were over-awed. This was a reſource which either timidity or intrigue prevented the Girondiſts from adopting; and the General perceiving that no ſuch decree as he had recommended was likely to be paſſed, departed ſingly for Paris: influenced by the motives already deſcribed, he ſent before him, under colour of leave of abſence, many of his officers and ſoldiers, who promiſed to aſſiſt his attempts in the King's favour: the diſtance of the General from Paris was conſiderable, but the trial of the King could not reaſonably be expected to have a ſpeedy termination; for though Dumourier was not unacquainted with the ferocious ſpirit of the Jacobins, he thought that policy, if not humanity, would induce the party of Gironde to delay the buſineſs, and by that means give him time to attempt the King's reſcue.

Dumourier had been on friendly terms with one of the deputies from Gironde named Genſonné; this deputy had been

been hostile to Dumourier; the latter, while in office, took an opportunity of shewing that he had forgiven the injury, and when he quitted the Ministry, finding Gensonné to be an able and humane man, he continued a connection with him. To this acquaintance, the General expressed his sentiments of the crime, likely to be committed on the person of the King, and endeavoured to convince him that the destruction of all the honest men in the country would follow an event calculated to render the Jacobins and Anarchy triumphant; and that with whatever indifference or even pleasure many nations of Europe might view our political struggles; yet, the murder of the Sovereign would stimulate them against us, and leave us without a single ally.

Gensonné appeared to be impressed by the weight of these remarks, but attempted nothing in consequence, and from some impenetrable cause studiously avoided any future conversation with Dumourier. With many other deputies on whom it was probable his arguments would have any influence, Dumourier conversed on the same topic; urging, that as Louis was a mere individual since the establishment of the Republic, it would be highly impolitic to postpone by his trial, the important considerations that were necessary to guide the National Forces. Several members of moderate dispositions acknowledged, that the measure would be deficient both in justice and wisdom, but added, that if the Jacobins were disappointed of gratifying in that way their sanguinary malice, they would cause the mob to rise, and the whole of the prisoners in the temple would be massacred. The General also urged, that after the transaction the departments might probably deem the members of the Convention responsible to them for exceeding their

delegated

delegated authority, by proceeding to try the King; to this it was answered, that the Girondists had put it out of their power to consult the departments, by making the absurd and dangerous proposal of convoking the primary assemblies.

General Dumourier afterwards urged the idea, that Louis might be considered as a prisoner of war, who had been taken captive in the struggle between Monarchy and Republicanism; and that as the nation was then engaged in a doubtful contest with foreign powers, it would do wisely to retain such a valuable hostage. The General added, that should the trial of the King notwithstanding these arguments be resolved on, it would be proper to act with the greatest deliberation, to confront witness, to arrange the papers and depositions, and finally to submit the whole affair to the decision of the primary assemblies when they should be convoked to declare their acceptance of the constitution. Having promulgated this opinion as much as possible, the General applied to Pethion, with whom he had before this period been on terms of intimacy, and represented, that it would become him particularly to exert himself on the King's behalf, in order to avoid the imputation of a resentful malignity which he would otherwise certainly incur. Dumourier succeeded in exciting the sympathy of Pethion, who declared that he personally *loved* the King, and would make use of all the influence he had in his favour. After this, through the medium of a friend, the General addressed himself to Robespierre, observing, that the fate of the King was intirely in his power, and by ranging himself on the side of mercy he would obtain the attachment of the officers and soldiers, and perhaps the dictatorship of the State; but, that on the contrary,

contrary, his name would descend to the execration of posterity in infamous conjunction with that of Marat, which to Robersspierre had always been extremely odious. The Post Master of St. Menehould (Drouet) who arrested the King at Varennes, was a deputy of the Convention, and a member of the Jacobins; his brother, an honest and worthy man, was in the service of the General, and greatly attached to his master; he was instructed by Dumourier to prepare his brother's mind on this business, and then to bring him to the General's country residence at Clichy.

Dumourier fully and energetically stated his sentiments about the King to Drouet the deputy, who was so deeply impressed by the General's representations, that he promised to make a motion on the subject agreeably to his wishes, both in the Convention, and the Jacobin Club; but Drouet presently afterwards fell sick, and no other member would venture to undertake a similar task, or Louis would doubtless have been saved. Thus every attempt of Dumourier to influence the Convention in favour of the King proved abortive; but still entertaining hopes, the General went every day into the shops and houses of different persons, urging the beforementioned arguments, and adding many encomiums on the mild and virtuous character of Louis. He was frequently warned to beware touching on so *dangerous* a topic, and often exposed himself to the hatred of the factious, by intimating his surprize, that there did not appear six thousand Citizens sufficiently courageous to humble the insolence of three thousand villains, who calling themselves federates shamefully tyrannized over the city. A respectable tradesman, with whom the General one day conversed on the subject, answered him with the following remarkable expressions: "*Citizen, I see what you would have*

 us

us do; but we are cowards, and the King will be ſacrificed; what do you hope from a city that having 80,000 *armed men, ſuffered itſelf to be intimidated on the firſt days of September by leſs than* 6000 *Marſeillois and Bretons?*"

Dumourier quitted the houſe in which theſe words were dropped, and went to indulge his reflections in a ſolitary walk. Thoſe ſoldiers whom the General for his particular purpoſe had permitted to come to Paris, were ſeduced to imitate the violence and exceſſes of the Marſeillois, and ſome of them even harangued in abuſe of the General at the low clubs of the different ſections. Every hope cheriſhed by Dumourier was now blaſted; the King's death appeared inevitable, while the crowded ſpectacles of Paris diſplayed the moſt unfeeling feſtivity.

CHAP. VII.

Execution of Louis XVI.—The Fortitude of his Behaviour—Obſervations on his Character—Prophetic Reflections of General Dumourier.

THE health of General Dumourier was impaired by the agitation his mind had for ſome time undergone, and he was confined by illneſs at his country-houſe from the 18th to the 22d of January. It was his intention ſoon to quit Paris, and never to return again but for the purpoſe of puniſhing the criminal aſſembly, that without proof condemned a King, whoſe innocence was indiſputable; who always had the greateſt affection for his people, and who himſelf invited a diſcuſſion, and promoted the removal of every impediment that obſtructed the national good. It is frequently the misfortune of princes to be ſurrounded by flatterers,

flatterers, to be ignorant of the real ſtate of the people they govern, and unconſcious of the dignity of private worth; but ſurely if this had been the character of Louis, his ſubjects would not have once loved him to adoration, or compared him to the beſt Monarchs in the French hiſtory; it was reſerved therefore for the Jacobins to inflame, irritate, and madden the public mind, againſt the life of their devoted victim.

From the 21ſt of January, the day on which Louis XVI. was executed, may be dated the deſtruction of the French Republic, and the reſtoration of either Monarchy, or Deſpotiſm. The firſt efforts made by France for Liberty were glorious, and the few exceſſes that were then committed aroſe rather from the circumſtances of the times than a wanton barbarity. The Conſtitution of 1789 was, though not perfect, an excellent one; and Dumourier in his viſits to the different countries of Europe, at that period, had an opportunity of perceiving the general and warm approbation it obtained. When the King (who had been influenced by perfidious advice,) was arreſted in his flight, and brought back to Paris, the national aſſembly acted in the moſt dignified and becoming manner; they reſtored the King to his function in the State: he was faithful to the Conſtitution, and cheriſhed its principles in his heart. His perſon was indeed ſacred and inviolate, but the reſponſibility of his Miniſters guarded againſt incroachment on the laws: there appeared, however, a ſtrong tendency to Republicaniſm in the third legiſlature of France, and many of its members were determined to deſtroy the conſtitution; to prepare the way for this event they omitted no opportunity of accuſing the King; the Girondiſts with all the jeſuitical ſubtlety of their party, and the Jacobins with that open

and brutal violence which has diſtinguiſhed them through every ſtage of the Revolution. The outrageous intruſion of the mob into the palace of the Thuilleries on the 21ſt of June was a prelude to the cataſtrophe of the 10th of Auguſt; for when the tumult was quelled, Santerre, Commander of the Pariſian Guards, was heard to exclaim, "*We have failed now, but we will return again.*"

The plots and counter-plots of the two parties in the Convention prevented the puniſhment of theſe outrages, and the bloody conflict of the 10th of Auguſt, put the King intirely in the power of thoſe who meditated his deſtruction. That ſome reſiſtance was made to the violence of the mob, even by the command of Louis, is not improbable; from a paſſive mildneſs of character he was eaſily acceſſible to advice; but, this very circumſtance, forgetting for a moment his powerful claims on juſtice, demanded the moſt merciful conſtruction of his conduct. The conſolation derived by Louis from a devout belief in the principles of religion, enabled him to meet his fate with heroic fortitude; his execution was attended by a croud, compoſed of all the giddy, frivolous, and cruel inhabitants of Paris; not a tear was ſhed on the occaſion, and even the domeſtics of the King preſſed the neareſt to behold, and diſcovered the greateſt indifference at the horrid ſpectacle. Garat, Miniſter of Juſtice, was viſited by Dumourier on the 22d, and ſeemed conſiderably affected by the death of the King, who had heard the dreadful ſentence read to him with a dignified compoſure; the Miniſter, Garat, General Dumourier, and Cabanis, the friend and phyſician of Mirabeau, dwelt on this circumſtance with all the warmth of ſenſibility; they peruſed the will of the unfortunate monarch; he had written it himſelf on four pages of letter paper;

paper; his own peculiar misfortunes, and the moſt ardent expreſſions of religion, formed the principal part of this memorable compoſition, and the whole contained an illuſtrious example of Chriſtian philoſophy and manly reſignation, under circumſtances of the keeneſt perſecution and diſtreſs. Kings of France have frequently been aſſaſſinated during the exiſtence of that monarchy; this, however, was from the impulſe of madneſs or fanaticiſm, and the perpetration of the crime was always followed by the hatred of the people, and the ſevereſt inflictions of puniſhment; but madneſs and fanaticiſm, of a ſpecies unknown in the common hiſtory of the human temper, was neceſſary to produce the ſanguinary rage that ſought, with enthuſiaſtic perſeverance, the life of the moſt amiable of monarchs. What ſplendid or ſecure exiſtence can be the lot of a republic, the foundation of which has been laid in ſuch abominable atrocity? The levity of the French character will be the inſtrument of vengeance upon the ferocious wretches by whom the paſſions of the nation have been perverted and abuſed; that liberty which was at firſt acquired by a reſpectable and enlightened legiſlature, will be obſcured by the frowning ſhade of deſpotiſm: anarchy muſt be cruſhed by the moſt vigilant ſeverity, and many years will revolve before the unhappy country of France can be permitted or qualified to enjoy the beneficial influence of a mild and limited government.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Conferences between General Dumourier and Cambon, Minister of Finance—State of the Provinces of Belgia—Of the Resources and Paper Circulation of France.

THE melancholy catastrophe which Dumourier was unable to prevent, had now taken place; it will therefore be necessary to describe the other transactions in which the General was engaged during his stay at Paris. It has been already stated that a material purpose of the General's journey to Paris was to urge to the Convention the treatment that the Netherlands had a right to claim from France, and that if that protection was violated a just resentment would add the Belgians to the number of their enemies; that having joined the Austrians it would be easily in their power to cut off the French garrisons, already weakened by disease and the want of necessaries. Dumourier had pressed these important considerations on the notice of the Convention, but presumptuous, and infatuated, they would attend to nothing but their favourite objects, the trial and destruction of the King. The financial department was entirely under the sway of Cambon, a man of no genius or correctness of understanding, but who obstinately persevered in every project he adopted; this minister made a boast of having proposed and carried the decree so obnoxious to the Belgians: among his reasons for this measure he stated, that the national treasury of France was in a state of extreme poverty; that six hundred thousand troops were kept on foot, and two hundred millions of livres per month disbursed for the expences of the war. In a conference with this rash and pertinacious projector,

projector General Dumourier ſtated that the expences of two hundred millions per month was too great, even for ſix hundred thouſand men, and that to his certain knowledge the effective forces of the republic amounted to no more than three hundred thouſand. Cambon replied that all the men in the frontier towns, who were enlifted as national guards, and a part of thoſe at Paris, received the ſame pay as the regular troops; that ſpecie already coſt the nation fifty per cent. and that at ſuch a criſis there appeared no expedient but that of ſeizing on the public property of all Belgia, including the plate of the churches and the ſilver in the banks. He acknowledged the injuſtice of this proceeding; but at the ſame time aſſerted the neceſſity of adopting it; and that after it ſhould be put in execution, the poverty of the Belgians would unite them more cloſely with the intereſts of France: he added alſo, that by the policy of admitting them and other countries to be members of the republic, the conqueſts of France would be extended, and its treaſury ſupplied. Dumourier ſtill oppoſed the arguments in favour of this barbarous expedient; he urged that the diſorganizing principles of the French Revolution were viewed by the Belgians with ſuſpicion and diſguſt; that if, as Cambon had aſſerted, this was mere prejudice, there was neither time to convince nor deſtroy it; that in the beginning of March the French poſts on the Meuſe would be attacked by the enemy; that being poſſeſſed of the paſſage of Maeſtricht they would reach the center of the French lines; and that the Belgians, finding a formidable force to protect them, would break out into inſurrection, and every where put to the ſword our feeble garriſons in the interior provinces; that inſtead of ſuch odious rapine it would be better to borrow a conſiderable ſum of the

clergy

clergy of the Netherlands; and to make the ſupplies for the army leſs dilatory and expenſive, by contracting with the opulent merchants of Bruſſels, Antwerp, and Ghent: though Cambon appeared to admit the propriety of this advice, he afterwards exclaimed in the Convention, in the heat of debate, that Dumourier had placed his *veto* on the decree that had been propoſed and enacted for the public benefit. This was a cruel calumny: but Dumourier had the cauſe of the Belgians ſo much at heart, that notwithſtanding the treachery of Cambon, he was eager to obtain another interview, and for that purpoſe invited Cambon to dinner, together with a deputy, named Ducos. This ſecond conference laſted ſix hours, and was conducted with very little temper.

Cambon was determined to perſiſt in his oppreſſive meaſures: Dumourier with ſpirit declared that he would never become an Attila, and be the plunderer of thoſe provinces to which he had guaranteed the faith and the protection of France. The behaviour of Cambon then began to manifeſt a more flagrant illiberality; he ſpoke of Dumourier as wiſhing in the ſtyle of a dictator to impoſe his opinions on the Convention; and obſerved, that as the Republic did not depend upon the talents or ſucceſs of an individual, it was their duty to ſilence or to puniſh his inſolence. It was indeed with truth that Cambon declared that money was wanted to carry on the war, for in January the National Treaſury contained but one hundred and ninety-two millions of aſſignats, and ſpecie to the amount of between fifteen and twenty millions of livres, the whole of this was not ſufficient to ſupport the armies till April, and the eſtimated value of the church lands was already more than anticipated by a plentiful emiſſion of aſſignats. The knowledge of

of these facts was acquired by Dumourier, when he attended the second sitting of the Committee of General Safety; during which, an augmentation of the army was proposed, but the General said that it would be ineffectual unless every article of expence for every company of men were previously calculated, and the whole sum necessary to be disbursed put immediately into the hands of the Minister of War. Cambon agreed to the truth of this remark; but stated the emptiness of the Treasury, and that he knew of no other fund upon which new assignats could be issued, except the national forests, and the estates of the Emigrants. Some of the committee exclaimed that they ought to be sold directly, and disputes arising on the subject, the General requested permission to deliver his opinion.

He first called their attention to the slow sale of the property of the clergy; that from various apprehensions there was no competition of purchasers; and that should the estates of the Emigrants be put up to sale, and valued at more than 1200 millions of livres, this addition would still more diminish the general value of the sequestered lands; that it was most probable they would not produce above one third of the estimated value; that the rest would be lost to the nation, and the alarming event of bankruptcy threaten to take place. As to the idea of selling the national forests, the General observed, that the measure would be highly imprudent and injurious; that materials for firing were very scarce in France; that more than a century would hardly be sufficient to repair the injury France would suffer by the felling of the woods; and that the sale of them, though valued by anticipation at more than 800 millions, would not be likely to produce more than three. These considerations had a temporary

effect on the resolutions of the committee, and the project of selling the estates of the Emigrants was at that time laid aside; but notwithstanding the exertions of General Dumourier in that respect, the service they produced has never procured from the Emigrants to the General any other return than calumnious ingratitude.

It was afterwards proposed by the committee to issue six hundred millions of assignats, not upon the security of any specific part, but on the total and gross fund of the landed property of the nation. Among all financial expedients the circulation of paper upon unspecified funds is the most hazardous: the committee, however, acted for a time in the business with a degree of prudence; but the emission of assignats has since been extended to 12 hundred millions. Cambon, still precipitate, still obstinate in his ruinous projects, has had the effrontery to declare that a national bankruptcy cannot be avoided; and the credit of the richest country in Europe is thus condemned to be the victim of blundering ignorance and short-sighted rapacity.

CHAP. IX.

Conferences of Dumourier with several Jacobins — Their Dispositions towards the King.

GENERAL Dumourier had been a member of the Jacobin Club at the most respectable period of its existence, and when it was not disgraced by men of such infamous characters as Camille, Desmoulins, Bazire, Chabot, and Marat; various circumstances, however, prevented the General from attending their meetings with punctuality, though, from the misrepresented adventure of the

the *Red Cap*, he has been ſtigmatized as a zealous aſſociate with thoſe who have polluted the Society of the Jacobins. The true account of the affair is this: Dumourier had convinced the King that it would be an expedient meaſure for the new miniſters, whom he had appointed on the recommendation of the people, to preſent themſelves to the Jacobins, that they might not be ſuſpected of any ariſtocratic attachments, and the General himſelf promiſed to attend on the occaſion. A few days before this the Red Cap had been adopted by the Jacobins as emblematical of liberty: the Girondiſts, who had always profeſſed a regard for order, ſucceeded, together with Dumourier, in convincing Pethion, the Mayor of Paris, of the dangerous conſequences to be apprehended from wearing ſuch emblems of political diſtinction, which they compared to thoſe ſignals of mutual ſlaughter the *White* and *Red* Roſes of York and Lancaſter in England, and the Hoods in the time of King John of France. Pethion was then in the zenith of his power, idolized by the Jacobins, and ruling the city of Paris with the moſt abſolute authority; he promiſed, therefore, to write a letter to the Jacobin Club, which ſhould produce the immediate effect of aboliſhing the uſe of the newly-adopted covering. The letter was to be ſent on the day fixed by Dumourier for his attending the club, on the account before ſtated; but though it was written, it had not arrived at the time the General entered the hall; all the members were then covered with red caps, and one was reached to Dumourier, as he aſcended the tribune to ſpeak. He was obliged to put it on, for the danger of his refuſal would have been extreme: he ſpoke a very ſhort time, obſerving that as ſoon as war ſhould be declared, he was ready to relinquiſh his pen, and in the ſervice of his country reſume his military ſtation. He then

left the ſociety; and, almoſt immediately after he was gone, Pethion's letter was received, and the requiſition it contained inſtantly complied with. Thus was the General's wearing the red cap a mere accident: had he viſited the ſociety half an hour later, that accidental diſgrace would not have happened; yet this part of his conduct has been branded by the calumnious conſtruction of pretended Royaliſts.

The Jacobins had begun to conceive enmity againſt Dumourier at the time he left his ſituation as Miniſter: his ſucceſs in Champagne, however, regained him a portion of their favour. When at Paris in October, 1792, he viſited the club for about a quarter of an hour; and, notwithſtanding the repeated calumnies of Marat and his aſſociates, did not yet become an object of popular perſecution. The meetings of the Jacobins were conſtantly attended by Ardouin and Haſſenfratz, of the war department, who heaped accuſation upon accuſation againſt the General; but a majority of the ſociety, being deſirous of attaching him to its intereſts, vindicated his character, and paſſed to the order of the day, when Haſſenfratz brought forward his famous and laboured charge againſt Dumourier, accuſing him of having embezzled two hundred thouſand livres in the Belgian contracts. Many intrigues were alſo ſet on foot by the Jacobins, to induce the General to eſpouſe their party. Anacharſis Clootz, Dr. Seyffer, and Proli, an adventurer from Bruſſels, were frequently employed in theſe negociations; and the laſt had a particular deſire to bring about an interview between Dumourier and one Desfieux, a Jacobin of great influence, who had promulgated with indefatigable zeal the principles of the ſect, and rendered it many itinerant ſervices.

Jean Bon St. André was a member of the Convention, and enthuſiaſtically attached to the Jacobins; he had the reputation

putation of integrity, and though not perſonally acquainted with the General, felt an eſteem for him, and was equally anxious with Proli that this interview ſhould take place, requeſting that he might be preſent at the conference.

Though Dumourier had a ſtrong objection that Proli ſhould be the medium of this interview, for preſſing reaſons he at laſt found it neceſſary to give his conſent. On the day appointed he was very indiſpoſed; but being unwilling to break his promiſe, and wiſhing to treat with reſpect Desfieux and Jean Bon St. André, to both of whom he was a ſtranger, he appointed to meet them at the houſe of a common friend of their's, named Bonne Carrère. At length the interview was effected; in the courſe of which Dumourier found Desfieux to be a weak-headed, but violent, man; and that Jean Bon St. André poſſeſſed more information, and was leſs immoderate in his opinions: no arrangement could, however, be made with reſpect to Dumourier's preſenting himſelf to the Jacobins, and the conference terminated without any ſuch promiſe on his part, or any avowal of a contrary deciſion. The General had ſcarcely alluded to the trial of the King, as he perceived by numberleſs expreſſions, that the minds of Desfieux and St. André were full of the moſt ſavage prejudices on that ſubject, and that he could not entertain the leaſt hope of their aſſiſting his deſign. Pache, and his aſſociates, were warmly ſupported by theſe men; they urged Dumourier to drop his charges againſt Pache, and to join in ruining the credit of Le Brun, Roland, Claviere, Garat, and the reſt of the leading members of the party of Gironde. The General determined to break off his correſpondence with the Jacobins, and to decline being implicated in their plots and intrigues: this intention he communicated to Bonne-Carrère, and alſo that he intended

tended to announce to the Convention his resignation of the command of the army. Dumourier knew, that in adopting this conduct, he would be exposed to the utmost vengeance of the Jacobins, and by their influence (if possible) consigned to the bloody jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Tribunal: he took, therefore, his measures with as much precaution as he was able, and after giving up every hope that had animated his exertions in favour of the King, turned the whole of his attention to the safety of the rest of the Royal Family, and the establishment of order and rational liberty in France, by endeavouring to place that country under the favourable auspices of a limited monarchy.

CHAP. X.

Executive Council of France—Characters of its Members—various Military Arrangements.

DURING twenty-six days that he resided at Paris, Dumourier transacted his principal business with the Ministers of the Executive Council, which was distracted by party divisions. Between Roland, of whom we shall hereafter speak more fully, and the other five, there was much hatred; and they kept from his knowledge every transaction it was in their power to conceal. Among themselves there were factious divisions: on the one side were Le Brun, Garat, and Grouvelle. Le Brun was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his promotion to that post had been facilitated by the patronage of Dumourier. He was a man of application, and tolerably well informed: but of so timid a disposition, that he had not courage to be grateful, and even suffered himself to be influenced by the Jacobins; while

while Briſſot and Condorcet, the greateſt men among the Girondiſts, ſupplied him with materials for the negociations with foreign powers. Garat, Miniſter of Juſtice, poſſeſſed both ability and rectitude, and could be reproached with nothing, but having attempted to apologize for the maſſacres of the 2d and 3d of September: Grouvelle was a man of letters, overbearing in his manners, and an extravagant votary of freedom; and though only Secretary of the Council, aſſumed the authority, and had the influence of a miniſter. Pache, Monge, and Claviere, formed the other diviſion: Pache was Miniſter of War, and a man of reſpectable underſtanding, but entirely devoted to the Jacobins; he affected a ſlovenly dreſs to court popularity among the Pariſians. Under his management the War Office became a club, in which the moſt ferocious and ſanguinary ſentiments were uttered, and his wife and daughter, who were diſguſting both in their tempers and their perſons, frequented the lurking-places of the moſt licentious banditti of Paris, to inſtigate them to demand the death of the King; Monge was Miniſter of the Marine, and the Marine Office exhibited as diſguſting a picture as that of the War Department; Monge, as an experimental philoſopher, had given lectures with deſerved celebrity; he was a man of plain manners and unaccommodating behaviour, yet entirely governed by Pache, and with him ſupported the intereſt of the Jacobin faction; Claviere, Miniſter of Finance, was the relation of Briſſot, and though indebted for his place to the Girondine party, frequently ſupported the other from a contradictory temper, and the deſire of preſerving his ſituation (which Cambon and others were ſtriving to aboliſh) by ſeeming to countenance the active violence of the Jacobins. Such were the Members of the French

Executive

Executive Council, and in this manner were they divided at a period the moſt critical that ever occurred in the hiſtory of the country. The Revolution, in its attempts to introduce equality, had patroniſed the groſſeſt villainy, ignorance, and effrontery; for theſe were the talents by which alone the Jacobins and their retainers were able to diſtinguiſh themſelves. There is no other method for France to avoid total ruin, but by annihilating internal tyranny, diſguiſed in the garb of revolutionary ardour. The ſucceſs of the Confederate Powers would, perhaps, reſtore the original deſpotiſm of the French monarchy, and deſtroy that predominance of talent, which a government founded on the principles of rational freedom will not fail to acknowledge; but France, notwithſtanding its errors and its crimes, has deeply imbibed the notions of liberty; and the moment thoſe foreign troops, which might effect their ſubjugation, ſhould retire, inſurrection and vengeance would fire the maſs of the people, and overwhelm an inſolent and tyrannic nobility, not poſſeſſing the ſenſe to ſacrifice their obnoxious privileges to the altered ſtate of European ſociety.

The Executive Council did not as a body interfere in the fate of the King: Le Brun, Garat, and Roland, much regretted the tranſaction; Claviere rejoiced with a malignant pleaſure; while Pache and Monge openly ſolicited ſuffrages of condemnation upon the unfortunate Monarch; Grouvelle aſſerted that the honour of the Republic required his death. The moſt violent animoſity ſubſiſted between the different generals, and Pache the War Miniſter, on account of the ſhameful negligence and corruption in that department; each miniſter had aſſumed an excluſive juriſdiction in his own office, and Pache perſiſted in laying before the council, ſtatements that were falſe

and

and in direct contradictions to the advices from the armies, and the testimony of the generals. The committee of contracts was influenced by Claviere, and the supplies for the troops were as scandalously conducted as before. Pache gave himself no concern about these abuses, having been promised a speedy election to the mayoralty of Paris by the Jacobins; and Hassenfratz and Meusnier were to quit, at the same time, their situations in the War Department. All the Members of the Executive Council gave their support to the decree of the 15th of December, by which the public property of Belgium was to be put in a state of sequestration. Le Brun, like most of the men who have derived authority and consequence from the Revolution, declared it as his opinion, that no people could be fit for the reception of revolutionary principles who were not completely disorganized; and therefore assisted in the scheme of distressing the Belgians: Dumourier was, on the contrary, anxious to protect their property and their civil and religious institutions from being violated. Le Brun consequently communicated but little with Dumourier on the subject; but in conjunction with Marat, Chepy, and some other infamous retainers, established in the Netherlands a terrible instrument of persecution and pillage under the title of a Revolutionary Committee. The conduct of Chepy was highly insolent, offensive, and tyrannic; and the General wrote to Le Brun, stating that Chepy's deportment in Belgium was extremely injurious to the credit of the French character, and desiring that he might be recalled; the Minister, however, instead of paying attention to this remonstrance, continued Chepy in his post, and even increased his authority by additional instructions. It was at the time when Dumourier was urging every argument and solicitation in

his power to get the cruel decree of the 15th of December revoked, that thirty-two assistant commissioners were added to the six before nominated, for the purpose of carrying the decree into effect, and the enormous salary of 30,000 livres accompanied their appointment; the expences of their journey were also defrayed, and the tempting opportunity of peculation opened new sources of emolument. Their powers were formally limited, but in their conduct they observed no restriction; and by a series of the most violent and oppressive measures made the name and character of the French completely detested by the Belgians. It was as yet unsettled upon what plan the campaign was to be conducted: according to the assertion of Cambon 600,000 troops were maintained by France; but even so late as the 15th of January the *real* number of soldiers in pay was unknown to the Executive Council, who were also ignorant with how many foreign enemies France might have to contend. Dumourier gave it as his opinion to the Council, that though France should be opposed by all the powers of Europe, her frontiers might be defended with no more than three hundred and seventy thousand men, provided that no civil war should distract the attention of the government (for the formidable insurrection in La Vendée had not then broken out.) This force was to be exclusive of garrisons and the troops of the fleet, and a sixth part of it was to consist of cavalry; on the South and the banks of the Rhine it was to be employed on the defensive; and its offensive operations were to be confined to the frontiers, from the Mozelle to Dunkirk. By the advice of the General the troops were to be thus distributed: 80,000 men as the army of Belgium; that of the Ardennes 40,000; on the Mozelle a corps of 20,000, to prevent the communication

communication between the army of the Rhine and that of the Ardennes from being interrupted; the army of the Rhine to be composed of 50,000 men, and a reserve of 20,000 to be posted at Chalons or Soissons; at Lyons a corps of 15,000, to watch Switzerland and Piedmont; 40,000 for the army of Savoy, and the countries of Nice and Provence; 15,000 for the army of the Pyrenees; 40,000 for the western coast from Bayonne to Brest; and 40,000 for the coasts along the Channel from Brest to Dunkirk. These armies were to render mutual assistance to each other; and in this armed state of the French nation there was no doubt of repulsing or overwhelming the enemy on any attempt being made to penetrate into France. It was proposed by General Dumourier, that the army of Custine, having evacuated Franckfort, should retire to Landau, leaving in Mayence a garrison sufficient to detain the Prussians by a three months siege; and that in the interim the fortified towns of Lorraine, Alsace, and the Ardennes, should be put into a respectable state of defence. The General further observed, that Belgia, being a flat country, and unprovided either by art or nature with strong places, the operations of the war would there consist entirely of battles, and that it would, therefore, be necessary to push the campaign with the utmost vigour. According to this plan, should the French have been successful, the greater part of their army might have passed the Rhine, and on the contrary have retreated behind the fortresses of Flanders and Artois. This plan was laid by Dumourier before the Committee of General Safety, as well as the Executive Council, when La Clos, recently appointed to the command in India, proposed, that he should be instantly sent out with fifteen vessels and 15,000 men, for the purpose of taking the Cape

of Good Hope and the Iſland of Ceylon, and afterwards of joining Tippoo Saib to attack Bengal. Such a curious and abſurd expedition would neceſſarily have brought on a war with England and Holland; a war which it was the particular intereſt of France to avoid. To form eccentric and ridiculous projects ſeems indeed a prominent feature in the French character; for when Kellerman came to pay his reſpects to the Convention, previous to his taking the command of the army of Dauphiné, which amounted nearly to 20,000 men (excluſively of General Biron's army of 12,000 in the country of Nice) the Preſident ordered him to go and conquer Rome; and the General anſwered with a gravity which muſt make one ſmile, that he was taking leave to go to Rome. This army had been weakened by a draught of almoſt 8,000 men, taken for the fleet at Toulon, and which was intended to conquer Sardinia. The time of year at which this expedition was undertaken prevented ſucceſs; the fleet was aſſailed by ſtorms, and part of it loſt in a narrow ſea abounding with rocks and iſlands. The conqueſt of Spain was a meaſure reſolved upon by the Convention, though the army of the Pyrenees was merely a collection of ſtaff officers, with very few troops. General Servan was appointed to command on this occaſion; but the 40,000 men, whom he was to lead, were not yet raiſed. Some feeble garriſons at Belleiſle, and two or three other places, formed the whole of the troops on the coaſt of the weſt and north; there was no army of reſerve: 50,000 men were ſtill neceſſary to complete the army of Belgia, and that of the Ardennes. Excluſive of 20,000 troops confined in Mayence, the army of Alſace amounted not to 20,000, nor that of the Mozelle to 12,000 men; upwards of 150,000 men, together with proviſions, arms, and cloath-

ing,

ing, were therefore wanting to give efficacy to the plan of General Dumourier. The want of cavalry was particularly felt by France: a body of 20,000 was required by the armies of Belgia and the Ardennes, they had not 6,000, and were besides in want of 15,000 horses for artillery.

In pursuance of the General's scheme 370,000 men were ordered to be raised, and some alterations were made in the manner of distributing the troops; this was all that was done to facilitate the scheme of the general; a few days, indeed, before his departure 15,000 men of the new raised battalions were, agreeably to his request, ordered to march from the third line in Picardy, Flanders, and Artois, into maritime Flanders, where they could act with infinitely more utility.

It was suspected by Le Brun and Garat that many projects, particularly in foreign politics, were concealed from the Executive Council. Two private committees were then held at the house of General Dumourier; but though they might appear to decide the fate of the country, they in reality determined nothing of consequence. Le Brun, Garat, Condorcet, Pethion, Gensonné, and Brissot, leaders of the Girondine party, were members of the two committees, and it is most probable for the sake only of its being known at Paris, and that the apparent intimacy of the Girondists with General Dumourier might attach his friends to the cause of that party. About this time the General silenced the boasting of Brissot, by demonstrating the folly of the schemes formed by the latter for the conquest of Spain and Italy. The critical state of Switzerland, with respect to the French Republic, was a subject of the most interesting nature: Claviere had gratified his malignant temper by disorganizing his native country

(Geneva)

(Geneva) and driving General Montesquieu into exile, by the persecution of the infamous Du Bois de Crancé: Brissot and his associates had asserted, that it was necessary to compel Switzerland to abandon its neutrality, and assist in repelling the enemies of France. The interference of metaphysical men with politics is always injudicious and dangerous: Dumourier, by laying down the situations of France, Switzerland, and the Combined Powers, with respect to each other, clearly demonstrated the propriety of suffering the Swiss Cantons to remain in a state of tranquillity; but recommended that 15,000 troops should be posted at Lyons by way of vigilance. General Dumourier acknowledges that however strong and earnest in his wishes and efforts to prevent this compulsion on the Helvetic body, the desirable object was principally effected by the firmness and prudence of Colonel De Weiss, a Member of the Sovereign Council of Berne; and who, though he did not reside at Paris in any diplomatic capacity, was much respected by the Executive Government and the Convention: his character was an admirable compound of purity, energy, and tranquillity; he despised the persons and threats of the factious, and said one day to a popular demagogue of considerable influence, "*I know that you can cause me to be arrested or massacred; but I possess proofs of your villainy that would bring you to the scaffold in eight days: I demand then that a peaceful conduct on the part of France towards my country be the price of my silence.*"

Speaking his sentiments with great freedom on another critical occasion, he was interrupted, and asked whether he had 100,000 men at his devotion in the Fauxbourgs of Paris to support the boldness of his language, he replied, "*No—I am single, but have an hundred thousand Republican sentiments*

ſentiments in my heart of which you are deſtitute :" this anſwer procured him the applauſe of his hearers, and he proceeded without further interruption. The arguments advanced by Colonel De Weiſs in a production of his, intitled, " *A rapid Survey of the relative Intereſts of the Helvetic Body and the French Republic,*" rendered completely abortive all the attempts of the leaders of the French factions upon the neutrality of Switzerland. Their deſigns were nearly ripe for execution, and would certainly have taken place, but for the ſound judgment and very ſpirited interference of the colonel : ſecret preparations had already been made made for an expedition againſt Berne, the plunder of which was eagerly deſired by the promoters of the ſcheme ; it was propoſed to bombard and to carry that city, while commotions were to be raiſed through all the cantons, by exciting the diſcontented to open revolt. Thus was the happineſs of a ſimple, a frugal, and a brave people to be ſacrificed to the precipitate madneſs of French democracy ; and the orderly decorum of the different governments of the Cantons vitiated by introducing the diſorganizing notions of the anarchiſts : happily theſe iniquitous deſigns were fruſtrated, and the tranquillity and freedom of Switzerland were preſerved.

The ſchemes of conquering Spain and Rome were *prudently* deferred till armies could be raiſed for the purpoſe. The plans and remonſtrances addreſſed by Dumourier to the Executive Council and the Committee of General Safety were neglected, and the ſoldiers of the Republic continued in want of almoſt every thing neceſſary for their ſupport.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Character and Conduct of Roland, the Minister of the Interior —Talents of his Wife—Roland quits the Executive Council.

SOON after the death of the King, Roland gave notice that he ſhould reſign his place as Miniſter of the Interior: the Executive Council received the letter which announced his reſignation with great pleaſure, and the members appeared like a parcel of ſchool-boys releaſed from the forbidding ſway of a ſour pedant. This ſtep was in conſequence of an agreement between the Jacobins and the Girondiſts, by which it was ſettled that both Pache and Roland ſhould quit the miniſtry: with regard to Pache the change was ſplendid, for he obtained the mayoralty of Paris; while Roland, unprotected by any office, became expoſed to the inſults and perſecutions of the Jacobin faction, and the cowardice of the party of Gironde was palpable in thus abandoning a man, of whom, when miniſter, they had made ſo oſtenſible an uſe. Roland was not a man of bright genius, but poſſeſſed much commercial information: the concerns of the Home Department were altogether too various and intricate for the feeble mind of Roland, who would have been better calculated for an official ſituation, in which he might have excluſively ſuperintended the manufactures and commerce of the country.

The real characteriſtics of Roland were integrity and philanthropy, yet he wiſhed to imitate the rigid morals and cenſorial auſterity of Cato, but not poſſeſſing the talents and boldneſs of his Roman model, the imitation was aukward and unnatural; he was neat, though not faſhionable in his apparel, and preſerved in his deportment the

proper gravity of a miniſter. His induſtry in buſineſs was unremitted; he was the friend of the people, and, biaſſed by this attachment, frequently carried his diſlike of the higher claſſes to a degree of acrimonious miſanthropy. Had the Republic been eſtabliſhed on a firm baſis, Roland would have ſuſtained a reſpectable part in the adminiſtration of the government; for he was rigid in Republican ſentiments, but the ill-nature with which he treated the King, and his delivering up to the Convention the cheſt in which the correſpondence of that unfortunate Monarch was depoſited, throw a ſhade over the memory of his better qualities. The wife of Roland, a woman of conſiderable talents, was known to be the critic, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance pointed and poliſhed the compoſitions of the miniſter. During his continuance in the council, the walls of Paris were covered with numerous and tireſome memorials, which excited the deriſion of the Jacobins, and were diſregarded by the majority of the Citizens. Madame Roland was between thirty and forty years of age, of a lively appearance, elegant in dreſs, and witty and refined in converſation: ſhe had a levee every day, at which all the diſtinguiſhed men of the capital attended; wits, ſcholars, metaphyſicians, miniſters, and members of the legiſlature: to theſe her partizans a weekly dinner was given, at the houſe of her huſband; and it was on ſuch occaſions that the abilities of Madame Roland ſhone conſpicuouſly; all public topics were diſcuſſed, and ſhe was the undiſputed arbitreſs of opinion. The following anecdote is a ſtriking proof of the ſpirit with which ſhe was capable of conducting herſelf. When her huſband's credit had greatly declined, he became the ſubject of a criminal accuſation, by a worthleſs man named Vizard. Madame Roland being on this account interrogated at the bar of the

National Convention, made this anſwer to one of the queſtions aſked her: " *I am the wife of Citizen Roland; I bear the name of a virtuous man, to whom I am proud to be allied.*"

It was, however, a diſadvantage to Roland, that he was implicitly ſubſervient to the direction of his wife; for ſhe took no pains to conceal her aſcendancy, the appearance of which diminiſhed the value that might otherwiſe have been placed on her talents and aſſiſtance. She had recommended Pache for the purpoſe of aſſiſting her huſband in the miniſtry; and there her diſcrimination failed, for Pache after gaining the confidence of Roland, and being appointed Miniſter of War by his influence, deſerted the fortunes of his patron, and joined the number of Roland's enemies; who after his retreat from office perſecuted their victim with the moſt bitter and unrelenting malice. A conſiderable time before his reſignation, Roland was employed in refuting the attacks of his adverſaries, and in indulging thoſe vexations of which an unhappy irritability of temper rendered him too ſuſceptible; no material change therefore took place in the aſpect of the council when he reſigned.

Roland had flattered himſelf, that his reſignation would not be accepted; but his own party perceiving that they no longer derived any benefit from his influence, ſuffered him to fall a ſacrifice to the Jacobins. Accuſation and impriſonment have ſince been the lot of Le Brun, Claviere, and Garat. Scarcely an eminent character that has appeared in the courſe of the Revolution, has eſcaped the fate of death or exile; while upſtart ignorance and ferocious villany have uſurped the riches and the power of the Republic.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Negotiations of France with England and Holland—Obſtinacy of the French Executive Council.

AUSTRIA, Pruſſia, and Sardinia, were the only *avowed* enemies of France, at the time when ſhe began to negotiate with the Engliſh and the Dutch. The advantages gained by the French in the preceding campaign would have been of the moſt deciſive importance, had Cuſtine took poſſeſſion of Coblentz, inſtead of levying contributions on Franckfort, which were very inconſiderable, and ſubſequently injurious to France; the Belgic army might then have paſſed its winter quarters on the banks of the Rhine, and by a well concerted arrangement of military poſitions have compelled Luxembourg to ſurrender by depriving it of ſupplies of proviſions: by taking advantage of the ſpring campaign, the armies of France might have penetrated the center of Germany, and experienced the ſupport of the people wherever they came; if they had prudently forborne to excite terror and diſguſt, by the inſolence, rapacity, and violence of their commiſſioners.

Notwithſtanding theſe groſs blunders of the rulers of France, ſhe might have been victorious over oppoſition, had not her imprudent and inſulting behaviour excited the reſentment of new enemies. Spain had offered peace and friendſhip, on condition that the life of Louis XVI. ſhould be ſpared; this propoſal was rejected with a ſavage contempt, and the prudent policy of France was ſacrificed to the furious hatred with which the Convention purſued the life of the unfortunate King. The French Revolution had ſeemingly been viewed with a ſuſpicious eye, by the courts

of London, and the Hague. Holland was averſe to the war, and the Engliſh were not yet ripe to engage in it; ſo that France, by propriety of conduct, might have avoided the hoſtility of theſe two powers; peace with Holland in particular ought to have been a deſirable object with the French, who drew from thence conſiderable ſupplies of ſpecie and proviſions. General Dumourier, towards the end of November, repreſented to the Executive Council, that he could not defend the country of Liege, nor the Meuſe, without taking Maeſtricht, which he propoſed to hold till the war was finiſhed, engaging by a ſolemn manifeſto then to reſtore it. Neither Maeſtricht nor Venloo were calculated to endure a ſiege, and ſhould Holland have murmured at the taking poſſeſſion of thoſe places, glaring inſtances of the Dutch government's having violated the neutrality might have been produced; for through that medium, the magazines of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians were furniſhed with neceſſaries of every ſort, while the council of Holland decreed the puniſhment of death, for any attempt to give ſimilar ſupplies to the French; yet, notwithſtanding this, the generals of the French Republic were commanded to be ſtrictly neutral in their conduct to the Dutch. The plans of Dumourier were the reſult of a vigilant attention to the circumſtances of the war, and their ſucceſs would have been nearly certain, from the ardour with which his ſoldiers were inſpired by recent victories; but groſs ſtupidity, and an unpardonable treachery to the nation, prevented the Executive Council from attending to the General's advice; inſtead of a power to act on his own ſyſtem of operations, he received orders to take Luxembourg during the winter, but thoſe orders were retracted by his demonſtrating the abſurd impracticability

bility of ſuch an attempt. It having been neglected to take Maeſtricht, General Dumourier was of opinion, that hoſtile meaſures towards Holland would be highly imprudent, as a war with England muſt inevitably have been the conſequence; he was therefore extremely ſolicitous that on the part of France a ſtrict neutrality ſhould be obſerved with both thoſe countries. The policy that *now* dictated peace with the Dutch was this: Maeſtricht and Venloo were in their power, and by delivering theſe important places to the Auſtrians, the French might have been forced to quit the countries of Liege, Gueldres, Limbourg, Brabant and Namur, and to retire behind the Scheldt, and from thence they might have been driven to the fortified towns of Flanders and Artois, by the co-operation of an Engliſh and Dutch army. When Dumourier was Miniſter of the Foreign Department, he ſent Emanuel De Maulde, a French Colonel, as Plenipotentiary to the Hague. De Maulde had great ſucceſs, in procuring ſupplies of horſes and arms for France, and his conduct was in every reſpect ſo proper and conciliating, that he gained the eſteem of all parties in Holland; but his merit and ſervices could not protect him from calumny, and he was alſo *unfortunately* of noble birth. Le Brun had conceived a particular diſlike to De Maulde, and the Military Committee evinced a malicious diſapprobation of all his exertions: he was at length recalled, and in his place was appointed Noel, a man of integrity, but of a diſpoſition far leſs moderate than his predeceſſor. The intemperate and unengaging manners of Noel procured him a very indifferent reception, which in the heat of his reſentment he loudly, but unjuſtly, attributed to the intrigues of De Maulde.

The

The latter on his return informed the General, that the neutrality with England and Holland, if an object to France, might be easily preserved; for that though the ministers of those respective courts had declined acknowledging the French Convention, or to treat with Le Brun; yet the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Van Spiegle, and Lord Auckland the British Ambassador at the Hague, were perfectly willing to negotiate with General Dumourier. Intelligence was also transmitted to Le Brun, the Foreign Minister, that the Cabinet of St. James's was equally desirous of treating with the General, whom it was then proposed to send over to England, for the purpose of demanding a categorical answer of Peace or War. At that time the King's trial was not concluded, but it was easy to predict the fate of the persecuted Monarch; it therefore occurred to Garat, Minister of Justice, and a man of considerable understanding, that the English Government, meditating hostilities against France, had insidiously invited Dumourier to England, with an intention to detain him there, and deprive the Republic of the services of its most able General. It was resolved, notwithstanding, that the business should be submitted to the council, and that Garat should propose that after exacting every possible security for the General's person from the British Court, he should be sent to England with full powers of negotiation; that his conduct should be prompt and decisive, and that in case of a hostile determination, he should immediately return to command the French armies: this proposal was laid before the Executive Council, but was defeated by a violent opposition from Pache, Claviere, and Monge.

Dumourier's disappointment was extreme, for he had cherished a hope of effecting, by the adoption of this measure,

ſure, his eſcape from the fangs of a government, whoſe oppreſſions, cruelty, and inſolence, began to attract the enmity of every other nation in Europe.

It was agreed, however, by Le Brun, Garat, and Dumourier, that the affair ſhould be ſecretly conducted, till every thing ſeemed to promiſe a ſucceſsful iſſue: in conſequence of this reſolve, it was determined that Noel ſhould be recalled, and placed in ſome other ſituation; and that De Maulde ſhould viſit the Hague, as if about his own concerns, and deliver a letter to Lord Auckland, ſtating, that on the 1ſt of February General Dumourier would come to inſpect the troops in their winter quarters at Antwerp. Dumourier had been given to underſtand by De Maulde, that Lord Auckland had ſpoken of him in terms of great eſteem; the General was therefore happy in propoſing an opportunity of meeting that nobleman on the frontiers, and it was intended, that if his lordſhip complied with Dumourier's intimation, the latter ſhould, if neceſſary, viſit England, for the purpoſe of concluding the ſubject of their interview.

It was alſo additionally reſolved, that Maret, a young man of reſpectable talents, and who was employed under the French Executive Council, ſhould be previouſly ſent to London (with which he was well acquainted) in order to obtain from Mr. Pitt an acknowledgment whether he was actually inclined to treat with the General or not. Monſ. Chauvelin, Miniſter Plenopotentiary from France to the court of England, was far from performing a ſucceſsful embaſſy; he was accompanied to England by Talleyrand Perigord, who had been Conſtitutional Biſhop of Autun. This learned and reſpectable character was intended to act as a Mentor to Chauvelin; but the latter, ambitious to

ſhine

ſhine alone, pertinaciouſly rejected advice, though the critical circumſtances, occaſioned by the diſpoſition of the Engliſh Court, rendered it highly neceſſary to act with caution. Chauvelin was therefore to be recalled, and to be ſucceeded by Maret, when Dumourier ſhould depart from London; the latter had conſequently a ſtrong impulſe to facilitate, by previous exertions, the accompliſhment of the purpoſe of Dumourier's viſit to England.

Chauvelin's appointment as ambaſſador to the kingdom of Great Britain was procured by Dumourier, who had been on terms of friendly intimacy with his father, and it was propoſed to ſend him to Venice or Florence, in exchange for the loſs of that ſituation. Here it may be remarked that Dumourier, while oſtenſibly connected with the French government, never attempted any thing to the diſadvantage of perſons in public employment: on the contrary, he omitted no opportunity of doing good offices; but has experienced, in return, the unkindneſs and ingratitude which appear ſo conſpicuouſly in the hiſtory of the human ſpecies.

CHAP. XIII.

De Maulde departs for the Hague—Maret for England—General Dumourier leaves Paris.

ACCORDING to theſe arrangements, Colonel De Maulde commenced his journey to Holland. It might have been apprehended that the execution of the King, which took place about this juncture, and the horror excited through all Europe by that atrocious deed, would entirely defeat the plan of which M. De Maulde's expedition made

made a part; but Le Brun and Garat imagined that Holland was too much inclined to pacific meaſures, to enter readily into a war for the purpoſe of avenging the death of Louis; and the event proved that this opinion was not unfounded.

The departure of Maret for England was injudiciouſly delayed till the very day that General Dumourier ſet out from Paris. The pretence for delay was, that Mr. Pitt was to be firſt ſounded by a perſon in London, and who had been before employed by Maret on ſimilar occaſions: there were, however, ſufficient reaſons to believe that Le Brun had taken offence at the refuſal of the Britiſh Court to treat with *him*, and ſecretly endeavoured to render theſe negotiations ineffectual, though he had partly aſſiſted in planning them. Added to this, the difficulties of France were likely to increaſe, by the preſumptuous raſhneſs of Briſſot, whoſe inſulting ſpeeches and memorials were calculated to inflame the animoſity of every Court in Europe againſt the Republic. Since the abolition of the monarchy in France, Chauvelin had ceaſed to be recogniſed in the public character of French Ambaſſador: as a matter of favour, he was permitted by the Court of London to remain there, merely as a private perſon; but when intelligence of the King's death arrived, he was ordered to leave London in 24 hours, and England in eight days. Maret reached England in this ſtate of affairs, and he received an order of Council, enjoining him to depart from the kingdom immediately. The diſagreeable reception that Maret experienced from the Britiſh Government did not prevent the negotiation in Holland, of which Dumourier was to be the medium. The General ſet out from Paris under the moſt unpleaſant and gloomy impreſſions; by his utmoſt

 efforts

efforts he had been unable to avert the unjuſt and cruel doom, that ſent a mild and an innocent Monarch to the ſcaffold. All his endeavours to procure a revocation of the decree that oppreſſed and irritated the Belgians had proved ineffectual, and the army of which he was going to take the command was almoſt without ſubordination, and by the negligence of the Miniſtry very ill provided with cloathing and proviſions. Freſh troops were alſo arriving every day from Germany, to recruit the army of General Clairfait. This General had, with much military judgment, poſted himſelf between the Herffle and the Roer; and preſerved his ſituation, though the number of his troops were comparatively very ſmall, much in want of neceſſaries, and greatly intimidated by the rapidity with which the French army had conquered Belgia. The command of Clairfait's army was ſoon to be taken by the Prince of Cobourg, celebrated for his victories over the Turks. Dumourier was convinced that he could not reſiſt the Prince of Cobourg in front, ſhould he be attacked by that general; and that at the ſame time Prince Hohenloe would make an attack on his right flank by Namur, the citadel of which was in a ſlow ſtate of reparation; even Dumourier's retreat would have been rendered nearly impracticable by the Engliſh and Dutch aſſembling an army on his left flank, on the ſide of Antwerp and Dutch Flanders; the General, therefore, in theſe difficulties, implicitly relied on the negotiation with which Colonel De Maulde was intruſted, and his confidence in its ſucceſs was ſtrong in proportion, as he knew that Holland, being entirely unprepared for a quarrel with France, had by far the greateſt intereſt in remaining neuter. This negotiation, which Dumourier had ſo much at heart, and of which an account is given in the following chapter,

was

was broken off in the beginning of February, by the haughty and imprudent conduct of the National Convention. The French government has been plausibly reproached with perfidy for breaking the negotiation by abruptly declaring war against England and Holland: it is probable that France might have retorted the accusation with justice; for the English minister had most likely the intention of amusing General Dumourier, while the time was employed in preparations for war. This opinion is partly confirmed by the treaty which was at the same period concluded between the British Court and that of Turin; and thus are we compelled to acknowledge the truth of the observation, that political annals are the records of error and duplicity.

CHAP. XIV.

Particulars of the Negotiation between Lord Auckland and General Dumourier—Ineffectually terminated by the French Government declaring War against England and Holland.

THE letter of Dumourier to Lord Auckland was presented by De Maulde, when he arrived at the Hague, in the latter end of January. His lordship expressed much pleasure on reading the sentiments it contained; he observed that in the affair then agitated, the interests of England and Holland were joint and mutual, and, therefore, that he should lay the General's proposal before Van Spiegle, the Grand Pensionary. This communication was made, and the latter much approved the proposed conference on the frontiers, between himself, General Dumourier, and Lord Auckland. Three packet-boats were successively dispatched to England by Lord Auckland. The General, after inspecting the posts

about Dunkirk, on the 2d of February arrived at Antwerp; to which place De Maulde had previouſly ſent his ſecretary.

Dumourier in paſſing through Picardy, Artois, and Maritime Flanders, perceived that the people of thoſe countries were univerſally afflicted with ſorrow at the cataſtrophe of Louis the XVIth, and that the very term *Jacobin* had become dreadful to pronounce and to hear. Turbulent and factious emiſſaries from that diſorganizing party had ſpread themſelves through all the cities, ſtirring up the idle and diſſolute to revolt, and haraſſing the moderate citizens by clamorous and falſe accuſations.

At St. Omer's and Dunkirk there were but few troops, and the preparations for war appeared very inconſiderable. Maritime Flanders had been weakened to ſupply the augmentation of 10,000 foot and 1,500 cavalry required by Dumourier in Auſtrian Flanders; and from this country, which was the ſeat of war, new battalions were afterwards drawn to form a body of 12,000 at Cherbourg, from whence the General had hinted a diverſion might be made into England, ſhould a war with that country be inevitable. Not a ſingle battery was mounted at Nieuport or Oſtend; nor could any cannon be obtained for thoſe ports, except from Dunkirk, the fortifications of which were already not ſufficiently defended.

The neglect and diſorder viſible through the whole country, forcibly ſtruck the mind of Dumourier; his ſituation became every day more dangerous, and he was eager to conclude the buſineſs he was negotiating. By a courier, he tranſmitted to Le Brun, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, Lord Auckland's original anſwer; in which his lordſhip ſtated that himſelf and the Grand Penſionary would meet Dumourier in con-

ference

ference on the frontiers. The General alſo informed Le Brun, that Lord Auckland had ſent for the ſanction of the Britiſh Court to this proceeding, and that an anſwer would be ſoon received.

The diſpatches of De Maulde, giving an account of the interview between him, Lord Auckland, and the Grand Penſionary, accompanied this communication to Le Brun. The deepeſt abhorrence at the King's murder was diſcovered (as De Maulde had expected) by thoſe Miniſters; but he having aſſured them that General Dumourier felt the ſame ſenſations on the ſubject, the negotiation ſtill went on; and it was ſettled, that when Lord Auckland ſhould receive inſtructions from England, the conference ſhould be held at Moor Dyke, on board a yatch belonging to the Prince of Orange. Dumourier had already fixed within himſelf the plan of his own behaviour. During this interview, he was determined to conſult the intereſts of his country, by endeavouring to ſecure the neutrality of England and Holland: after having rendered France this laſt and important ſervice, he reſolved to avoid the imputation of partaking in the cruel and abſurd tyranny of the Convention, (which he rather wiſhed to puniſh than ſupport) by retiring to the Hague, and publiſhing there a memorial to juſtify his conduct.

Theſe intentions were partly communicated in a letter to De Maulde, of which Lord Auckland and the Grand Penſionary requeſted a copy. With this requeſt De Maulde felt himſelf unauthoriſed to comply, but delivered a letter to Lord Auckland from the General, in which he ſtated the pleaſure he ſhould feel if ſuch a line of conduct were likely to obtain the approbation of England.

While

While the negotiation was thus pending, war was suddenly declared against England and Holland by the National Convention, in consequence of a report made by Brissot; and the alarming intelligence of this measure came to Dumourier at the very time he flattered himself that his exertions were concluding with success. The General had arrived at Antwerp only on the 2d of February; and Le Brun, instead of waiting for the dispatches of De Maulde, precipitated the report upon certain insults said to have been offered to the French by the British Government: this, and the furious Republican declamations which proceeded from Brissot and Barrere, excited the rage of the Convention, and entirely defeated the plan that had engrossed all the solicitude of Dumourier. War was declared, and so thoughtless were the Executive Council even on this increase of the enemies of France, that they scarcely took any notice how far the General and his army were in a state competent to encounter the additional opposition they might expect to meet with. On the very day that General Dumourier heard of this declaration of war, he received a letter from Lord Auckland, by which he was informed that the acquiescence of his Lordship being authorised by the British Cabinet, the meeting at Moor Dyke would take place at the time proposed. Dumourier immediately dispatched intelligence to Lord Auckland, acquainting him that war was declared. The General, in his letter, admitted the measure to be precipitate and unexpected; but at the same time observed, that several aggressions had been discovered in the conduct of England towards France. Dumourier entertained a similar opinion of the behaviour of the Grand Pensionary, Van Spiegle, who had permitted Noel and Thainville, while residing at the Hague in a diplomatic capacity, to be

grofsly infulted by the Emigrants; he had alfo allowed the latter to appear in full military uniforms, and fuffered every expreffion and act of infult to the French nation to pafs without the leaft rebuke. But whatever may be the fentiments of General Dumourier with refpect to the provocations given to France immediately preceding the war, he acknowledges and he fhudders at the feries of crimes which have difgraced his country: among the moft enormous in the horrid catalogue, hiftory will recognize the bloody infurrection of the 10th of Auguft—the infernal maffacres of the 2d and 3d of September—the execution of the King—and the oppreffive decree by which the Belgic allies of France were compelled to become its enemies. Exceffes dreadful like thefe feem to merit, and will doubtlefs receive the peculiar chaftifement of Providence. Had France preferved her reafon, happy would it have been for the civilization and liberties of Europe; but, alas! Reform has been fupplanted by Anarchy—Juftice, Mercy, and Gratitude have been fullied by the moft atrocious cruelties—and the facred altars of the Deity have been overthrown by the blafphemous violence of atheiftical prefumption.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

3

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

....VITAMQUE IMPENDERE VERO.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY J. P. BEAUMONT.

PART II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR ALLEN AND WEST, N° 15,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

M,DCC,XCIV.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER.

FOR THE YEAR 1793.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Plan of General Dumourier's Expedition into Holland.

IN this book are related the particulars of a campaign wonderfully ſhort, various and important; it was planned and executed with the greateſt rapidity, being opened on the 22d of February, and terminating on the 5th of April. It preſents to the notice of military men, towns almoſt incredibly captured in the midſt of inundations; a grand general engagement, many bloody ſkirmiſhes, and finally a retreat, which has excited both the aſtoniſhment and applauſe of the hoſtile Generals.

The philoſopher will alſo perceive, that this recital confirms the remark, that mere individuals, and circumſtances apparently the moſt trifling, frequently determine the fate of Empires. General Dumourier, after taking laſt year the command of Fayette's army, expelled from Champagne the enemies of his country, and raiſed her renown by the

acquiſition of Belgia. Common danger had then cemented the internal diviſions of France; the advice of the General was attended to, and his plans met with proper ſupport: at this time circumſtances were totally altered; the French nation, or rather thoſe who had ſeized its government, became intoxicated by ſucceſs, and confident in crimes. They ceaſed to liſten to the repreſentations of a man who had already performed the moſt ſignal ſervices, and whoſe only objects were to ſave France from the threatened yoke of deſpotiſm, and the ſtill more terrible conſequences of its own political madneſs. Faction having attained the power for which it had long ſtruggled, began to manifeſt itſelf in oppoſing the meaſures of Dumourier; his views were calumniated, his troops badly ſupplied, and his efforts unfortunate. After beholding his rapid conqueſts in Holland ſnatched from his hands, he formed a ſecond plan, the ſucceſs of which was blaſted by the conduct of his own ſoldiers. During a ſkilful retreat he conceived a third project, that would have enſured the ſafety of the army, and prevented the total loſs of the low countries, but this was defeated by the ferocious pride of the Convention, and the inconſtant levity of the troops: the General was at laſt obliged to abandon a command no longer honorably tenable, and to retire among thoſe againſt whom he had fought, but who were nevertheleſs unable to refuſe him their eſteem. From that period France has loſt her proper character, her armies have been deſtitute of military conduct, they are inſpired with a ſavage fury rather than a ſoldier-like bravery; and though they kill, and offer themſelves to be killed, cannot be ſaid to make war. If a ſingle nation had oppoſed France, the conteſt would by this time have moſt probably terminated; but the attention of the powers that now attack

that

that country with their Combined Forces is frequently liable to be drawn aſide to their reſpective and different intereſts, in other circumſtances connected with the political ſtate of Europe.

Dumourier now felt the melancholy conviction that the forces of England and Holland were to act as enemies of France, in concert with the reſt of the Allied Powers, notwithſtanding his aſſiduous endeavours to avert by negotiation this alarming circumſtance. Had his country been governed by men of minds acceſſible to reaſon, he would have propoſed to abandon the Netherlands, that could not any longer be defended, and retire with his army behind the Northern Department; but ſuch a propoſition, however judicious and neceſſary, would have been miſrepreſented as the offſpring of a treacherous cowardice, and would no doubt have endangered the life of the General. If, on the contrary, this advice had been accepted, Dumourier muſt have put himſelf within the power of thoſe wretches, who pretended to ſave France, by making terror and oppreſſion the order of the day: beſides, in retreating with his army, having the appearance of flight, he would have loſt in the eyes of his countrymen all that conſequence which had been acquired, and could only be preſerved by ſucceſs. It was then impoſſible for him to be extricated out of theſe difficulties, without the execution of ſome bold project: his troops were in want of arms, cloathing, proviſions, and money; theſe were to be had in Holland, which the General formed a ſcheme of conquering immediately, intending to ſupply the deficiencies of his army by the celerity of his attack.

The Dutch Patriots had formed a Revolutionary Committee at Antwerp, where alſo the Batavian legion was

posted: they had more zeal than capacity, and although they had expended considerable sums to keep up a correspondence with the different provinces of the Republic of Holland, yet, the intelligence Dumourier received by that means was not much to be relied on, particularly in military matters; the General was however enabled to form a judgment, that the patriotic party was very strong in Amsterdam, Haerlem, Dort, and Zealand; he therefore resumed a plan, that had been suggested to him at Paris, of making an irruption into Zealand, where he proposed to have the appearance of remaining, that he might the better conceal the design of an enterprise extremely bold, but which he hoped would be easy in proportion as the enemy should think it impracticable. The Patriotic Committee understood, that it was the intention of the Stadtholder to fortify the island of Walkeren, and there to retire with the officers of state, and other appendages of the Dutch government, should the French undertake an expedition into Holland, and the people (as was much to be apprehended) assist the invaders. It was proposed by the Batavian Committee, that several thousand troops should be dispatched from Antwerp, to get as secretly as possible into South Beveland, then to cross an arm of the sea between that place and Walcheren; and having arrived in the latter island, to invite the inhabitants to acknowledge and join them as their friends and deliverers, and assist in disarming the garrisons of Middlebourg and Flushing, which consisted only of about twelve or fifteen hundred men little accustomed to war; the least delay would have runied this scheme, for in a short time the island of Walcheren might receive a supply of troops, considerably superior in numbers to the assailants, consequently this daring enterprise would not

only

only have been defended, but the retreat of the French detachment employed for the purpoſe would have been rendered impoſſible, there being many Engliſh frigates ſtationed at Fluſhing, and the Dutch having a flotilla at a ſmall diſtance below Lillo, which would have cut off all communication with the Continent of Flanders.

This expedition therefore required a rapidity and preciſion that Dumourier could neither expect from his own troops, nor the Dutch Revolutioniſts; he had not one General Officer to whom he could confide the execution of a plan ſo difficult and dangerous: to have undertaken it himſelf would have been highly improper, for ſhould the aſſiſtance of the Hollanders have been miſcalculated, there could be no probability of ſucceſs; and ſo unfortunate a commencement of the campaign, would have tended to the ruin of his army, which had already ſuffered by his abſence, and which, without being further weakened by a detachment for this purpoſe, was, as will afterwards appear, beaten, terrified, and diſperſed, on the banks of the Meuſe and the Roer.

The General, however, ſeemed willing to adopt this project, that he might gain time to conſult means for the accompliſhment of his own, and ſome diſpoſitions were accordingly made by his command. Captain Moultſon, an American officer in the French ſervice, who had aſſiſted in taking the citadel of Antwerp, had under his command a flotilla, conſiſting of the Ariel of 24 guns, a brig of 14 guns, and three ſloops of war, carrying 24 pounders; theſe veſſels were ordered to anchor under the fort of Lillo, and each to be prepared with a furnace to heat balls. The General alſo directed, that the two forts of Lillo and Lieſkenſhoeck, and the citadel of Antwerp ſhould be well

ſupplied

ſupplied with arms and proviſions; and that, the Dutch veſſels in the canals of the Scheldt, upon which an embargo had been laid ſince the declaration of war, ſhould be aſſembled at Antwerp, and made to ſerve as fire-ſhips. By theſe preparations, the General meant to indicate, that his intention was to burn the Dutch flotilla at anchor under the fort of Batz, and to take that place by ſtorm. Thus did the conduct of Dumourier encourage a belief, that the campaign would begin with the invaſion of Zealand, while his mind was in fact occupied with a project extremely ſimple, but which having never been tried, was open to the ſuſpicion of impracticability: this was to advance with that part of his army which he had aſſembled at Moor Dyke, to elude the garriſon of Breda and Gertruydenberg on his right, and of Bergen-op-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamſtadt on his left; and, by paſſing over an arm of the ſea of about two leagues, to reach Dort; where when he had once arrived, being in the heart of Holland, few obſtacles would have retarded his marching through Rotterdam, Delft, the Hague, Leyden, and Haerlem, even to Amſterdam; all attempts to defend Holland would then have been ineffectual. Maeſtricht and Venloo were to have been bombarded by a part of the grand army under General Miranda, who as ſoon as he knew of Dumourier's arrival at Dort, was to leave General Valence to continue the ſiege at Maeſtricht, and march with twenty-five thouſand men to Nimeguen, at which place General Dumourier would have joined him by the way of Utrecht. An attempt like this, rapidly executed, had every proſpect of ſucceſs; for the Stadtholder had collected no army, nor was there any ſettled plan of defence for Holland: and of all military projects this of General Dumourier would have been leaſt

ſuſpected,

ſuſpected, being almoſt as improbable as that of attempting to march an army "*through the eye of a needle.*" When the conqueſt of Holland ſhould have been thus accompliſhed, it was the deſign of Dumourier to ſend back the battalions of National Volunteers into the low countries; to aſſemble near him all the troops of the line, and the officers in whom he had the greateſt confidence; to diſſolve the Dutch Revolutionary Committee; to permit no alterations in the government of the States, but what were abſolutely neceſſary; and to preſerve the Batavian Republic from the dangerous influence of Jacobiniſm, and the rapacity of commiſſioners from the Convention. The General alſo intended, that a fleet ſhould be immediately prepared at Rotterdam, Zealand, and in the Texel, to ſecure the Indian poſſeſſions of Holland; that a ſtrict neutrality ſhould be proclaimed towards the Engliſh; and that 30,000 men ſhould be placed in Dutch Gueldres as an army of obſervation. After a few more arrangements immediately neceſſary, General Dumourier had reſolved to aboliſh through all Belgia the obnoxious decree of the 15th of December, and to invite the people to call primary aſſemblies at Aloſt, Antwerp, Ghent, or any other convenient place; and to determine upon the form of government they might moſt approve. Then he intended to propoſe to the Auſtrians a ſuſpenſion of arms, and in caſe of refuſal to march with 150,000 men, and compel them to paſs the Rhine; but on their accepting the truce, he would have purſued the execution of his plan, by endeavouring to eſtabliſh an alliance offenſive and defenſive between the Belgian and Batavian Republics; or, if this was not practicable, to form from them both an army of 80,000 men, to be on foot till the end of the war; finally, an union was to be propoſed between

between those Provinces and France, provided that the latter should restore the constitution of 1789; and if this offer were rejected, the General was to put himself at the head of 40,000 Belgian and Batavian soldiers joined to the French troops of the line, march to Paris, dissolve the Convention, and annihilate the infernal tyranny of the Jacobins.

This important plan would have ended the war, and procured the safety of France: it was communicated only to four persons; and though it may appear to many highly chimerical, would no doubt have succeeded, if circumstances had not turned most unfortunately against the General, who was obliged to relinquish many of the arrangements he had formed, in order to retrieve the faults of his subordinate officers, and save the principal army which was on the point of being entirely destroyed.

CHAP. II.

General Dumourier's directions to the grand army—His advice to Bournonville, recently elected Minister of War—Orders to raise the Belgic battalions—Loan opened by the General in the Netherlands.

THE measures of Dumourier were now arranged, but almost every material was wanting to put them in execution. At Antwerp he had but two weak battalions of National Gendarmerie, each about 350 men, undisciplined, unfit for war, and by the licentiousness of their conduct extremely dangerous to the peaceful citizens. The pay of these disorderly Janissaries (who were composed of the old French guards) was 40 sols per day, without any deduction;

deduction; and they had privilege of naming their own officers. The General during a review admonished them severely, that if they continued the outrages they were accustomed to commit, or discovered the least symptoms of mutiny, they should be sent back to France with every mark of disgrace. He had beside 150 men of the twentieth regiment of horse, and three battalions of National Guards, with the Batavian legion, amounting to 2000 men, of which 200 were cavalry. Twelve battalions of National Guards newly raised were stationed in West Flanders; these were for the most part without guns, powder-boxes, and shoes, and did not expect to engage in the campaign till the month of May.

The General was destitute of artillery fit to undertake a siege; there were no magazines, nor any Commissary of War, and money was greatly wanting; there was, however, no time to be lost; the precipitate declaration of war by the Convention made Holland prepare for defence, and if its exertions had been equally rapid with those of the General, his attack could not possibly have been attended with success. During the winter, the army of the north was under the command of General Miranda; this officer was intelligent, and well educated; he was better acquainted with the theory of war than any other General in the armies, but had seen little actual service: by his intimacy with Pethion, he procured the situation of Major General in the army the year before. He came to join General Dumourier at the camp of Grandpré in Champagne, and was exceedingly useful during the different attacks of the Prussians, and particularly in the retreat to St. Menehould on the 15th of September. The severity, eccentricity, and haughtiness of this General's character made him

univerſally diſliked: he was ignorant of the proper method of leading French ſoldiers, who ought always to be treated with affability and confidence.

By the patronage of Dumourier he was in December 1792 created lieutenant-general, and promoted to the command of the northern army, with a proſpect of the title of commander in chief on the firſt vacancy.

Miranda was diſpleaſed becauſe Valence, who was an older lieutenant-general, and commanded the advanced guard of Kellerman's army in the campaign of 1792 with brilliant ſucceſs, had been made general in chief at the requeſt of Dumourier. This preference was never forgiven by Miranda; he concealed, however, his reſentment for a long time, but it was diſcovered at the battle of Nerwinda in a manner very fatal to the intereſt of the French Republic. Before that period he was apparently actuated by a zealous attachment to Dumourier, who ſent him to Paris to procure artillery, that in caſe of a rupture with England and Holland the campaign might be opened in proper time by the ſiege of Maeſtricht. General Lanoue commanded the army of General Dumourier; he was a man of bravery and integrity; fifty years of ſervice had made him reſpectable, but his vigour began to decline: next to him in command was General Thouvenot, an officer of extraordinary merit. The army of General Valence was in his abſence commanded by Lieutenant General Le Veneur, a man of courage, but intirely deſtitute of capacity.

General Miranda was deſired by Dumourier to appear before Maeſtricht with a part of his army, and to procure a reinforcement of 30,000 men from the other armies, without impoveriſhing the garriſons of the lower Meuſe; he

he was alſo to communicate to the reſt of the generals, that they ſhould contract their quarters, and hold their troops in readineſs to aſſemble at one point, if the Auſtrians who were intrenched by the Herſſle, and the Pruſſians who were encamped at Weſel, ſhould, as might be expected, wiſh to effect a junction for the purpoſe of ſuccouring Maeſtricht. General Dumourier thought he acted properly in not mentioning the place at which this army of obſervation was to aſſemble; but he is now convinced and acknowledges, that the omiſſion was a great error in judgment. At the cloſe of his inſtructions, Dumourier confidentially communicated his plan of attack to General Miranda, exhorting him not to undertake a regular ſiege of Maeſtricht, but to ſtorm the place with bombs and red hot balls, as Liſle had been treated by the Duke of Saxe Teſchen; and that as ſoon as he ſhould be acquainted that Dumourier had paſſed Moor Dyke and arrived at Dort, he ſhould leave the ſiege of Maeſtricht, if not then taken, to be continued by General Valence, and proceed as quickly as poſſible to Nimeguen, to prevent the Pruſſians, ſhould they attempt to get firſt into Holland: to aſſiſt this purpoſe Dumourier deſired that General Champmorin, an engineer of much ability, ſhould go againſt Venloo, and poſſeſs himſelf of the lower part of the Meuſe, while Miranda was beſieging Maeſtricht.

General Dumourier recommended the utmoſt diſpatch in fulfilling theſe orders, and that the ſiege of Maeſtricht might be opened on the 12th or 15th of that month. He wrote to Lanoue and Thouvenot that he ſhould come to review the troops, after having inſpected the quarters on the lower Meuſe. He cauſed Lieutenant General Moreton, who commanded at Bruſſels, to be informed that he was

on the moment of ſetting out on his journey thither; he ſent orders to General D'Harville to aſſemble his troops at Namur on the 20th of February, as he intended to review his diviſion on the 22d. Dumourier thus amuſed thoſe of his generals who were not to be concerned in the expedition, and by that means rendered the enemy incapable of conceiving in what point the campaign was to be commenced. A ſhort time after Dumourier left Paris, Pache quitted the War Department to be elected Mayor of that capital; he was ſucceeded as War Miniſter by General Bournonville, who had been promoted to his rank in the army by Dumourier's recommendation: he had diſcovered great ſpirit in the ſervice, and much attachment to his patron the General. Dumourier did not, however, detail to this miniſter the particulars of his plan for invading Holland, fearing that they might be diſcloſed by the treachery or folly of the numerous clerks and retainers of the War Office.

Pache, before he left the office of Miniſter, had directed that the remainder of the fortifications of Mons and Tournay ſhould be demoliſhed. The inhabitants of thoſe cities were much diſpleaſed at this order, the execution of which was ſuſpended by General Dumourier, who now deſired Bournonville to revoke the imprudent order, and even to repair thoſe fortifications with all poſſible expedition.

Many other important articles of advice were given by Dumourier for the defence of the frontiers, and by the adoption of which the confederate powers would have been long prevented from penetrating into France. The General had requeſted Bournonville to ſend him ſeaſonable reinforcements; particularly ſuch as would be fit for a campaign in which many ſieges were likely to take place.

Bournonville

Bournonville loſt no opportunity of complying with Dumourier's deſires, and General D'Arcon, with ſeveral able engineers, ſpeedily arrived at the army.

D'Arcon was a man of the moſt amiable character, and of the higheſt military reputation as an officer of artillery. The notorious Prince of Heſſe, a deſpicable retainer of the Jacobins, had imputed the charge of ariſtocracy to this valuable officer, who was on that account ſuſpended from his command; but Dumourier, well acquainted with his merit, reſtored him to the ſervice, and found him in every reſpect deſerving of confidence. General de Flers was in command at Bruges; this officer was brave, but more conceited than ſkilful. Dumourier had raiſed him to the rank of major-general in conſequence of his having received a wound with a muſket-ball in the camp of Maulde. De Flers acquainted Dumourier with a plan which he had formed for taking by ſurpriſe the city of Sluys. Though Dumourier pretended to adopt this ſcheme he did not wiſh that General de Flers ſhould loſe troops and time in making impracticable attempts upon the Dutch towns in Flanders; but he placed a body of five or ſix thouſand men under his command, that he might replace, by Antwerp and Breda, the forces that were to march on the expedition into Holland. General Dumourier had left all his ſtaff-officers and aides-de-camp at Liege, and was attended alone by Baptiſte, who, when only valet to the general, contributed greatly, by the animating courage of his behaviour, to the victory of Jemappe: as a reward for his intrepidity, and by Dumourier's deſire, he was preſented with a commiſſion in the army, and ſtill continued to feel a ſtrong attachment to his former maſter. To form his ſtaff Dumourier was therefore under the neceſſity of ſending for

four officers, at the head of whom he placed Colonel Thouvenot, a man of great courage, capacity, and integrity, a zealous friend of the General's, and in whom the latter always repofed the greateft confidence.

General Thouvenot, brother to the colonel, was alfo high in the efteem of Dumourier, and acquainted with all his refolutions; his prefence was, however, effentially neceffary in the grand army, as he minutely underftood the treatment of troops in winter quarters, and by his influence and conciliation frequently made up the difagreements of the other generals.

The only commiffary with the army was Petit Jean, whofe time was fully and importantly employed in providing materials for the fiege of Maeftricht, and for the cantonments to be made between the Meufe and the Roer, and in the different parts of the Netherlands; another commiffary (Malus) was therefore to be fent from Paris, that Petit Jean might be able to attend the commands of Dumourier. As this was delayed the General could not wait, but ordered Petit Jean and Thouvenot to meet him at Antwerp, where in two days he fettled with them every neceffary arrangement for his expedition. At the departure of Thouvenot and Petit Jean, Dumourier appointed the former infpector, and the latter commiffary general, and gave them orders for the levying of twenty-five battalions of Belgic troops, each to confift of 800 men. General Valence, in his journey from Paris, paffed through Antwerp to receive the commands of Dumourier, who imparted to him the whole of his plan, and recommended him to vifit all the winter quarters of the troops, in order to choofe a favourable pofition for the army with which he was to cover the fiege of Maeftricht till the departure of Miranda, whom he

he was then to ſucceed in the operations againſt that place. The Financial Committee of the French Convention, either ſuſpicious of the generals in the ſervice, or treacherouſly wiſhing to defeat the ſucceſs of their plans, had directed that no more money ſhould be advanced for military purpoſes but the pay of the troops, which, independently of their ſubſiſtence, were in want of clothing, arms, and ſhoes. Only fifteen days pay was allowed for the troops that were to act againſt Holland, and the expedition, from incidental circumſtances, became amazingly expenſive. The unjuſt and rapacious behaviour of the French to the Belgians did not prevent the latter from acknowledging the candid intentions of General Dumourier. Antwerp contains as great a number of wealthy inhabitants as any city in Europe, for they had made a ſtrict œconomy ſupply the loſs occaſioned by the decline of commerce: a loan of 1200,000 florins was opened by Dumourier at a meeting of the principal citizens in this town. The loan produced 200,000 florins, which ſum was ineſtimably ſerviceable in cloathing and arming the troops of the Republic. The General was in Holland while this ſum was received and expended: he has been charged by the Jacobins with having purloined it himſelf. Falſe and ſilly accuſation! does the mind that is filled with the love of glory, and plans of the moſt important nature, ever ſtoop to ſuch ſordid meanneſs?

All the preparations for Dumourier's expedition were ready in about ten days, and the advanced guard of his army entered Holland on the 17th of February. The army was few in numbers, and it was of the utmoſt importance that this ſhould be concealed: the affair was managed ſo well, that the troops employed ſcarcely believed themſelves to be leſs than 30,000 ſtrong; while the Dutch apprehended

the

the approach of an immenſe army, the people of Antwerp having greatly magnified the number of the troops that paſſed through their city.

The Prince of Orange was with juſtice offended at the manifeſto publiſhed by Dumourier, previous to his entering Holland; that manifeſto ought not, however, to impeach the character of the General, but to be attributed to his public ſituation: it was neceſſary to encourage a conſiderable part of the Dutch people, who were depreſſed and diſpirited: it was proper to ſeparate the cauſe of the Hollanders from that of the Stadtholder, as the former, had it been left to their determination, would have been againſt the war, as contrary to their advantage. Theſe were the circumſtances under which the General's declaration was made; in any other caſe it would have been highly improper; though it will be recollected that war between the moſt civilized countries is generally preceded by mutual accuſations not conveyed in language of the greateſt delicacy.

CHAP. III.

The Army aſſembled, its Amount and firſt Operations—Interview of Dumourier with the Baron de Stael, formerly Swediſh Ambaſſador to France—Taking of Breda, Klundert and Gertruydenburg—Siege of Williamſtadt—Blockade of Bergen-op-Zoon and Steenberg—General Dumourier arrives at Moor Dyke—Prepares to paſs over to Dort—Is unexpectedly compelled to depart for the Grand Army.

A Conſiderable number of Dumourier's troops entered on the Dutch territories by the 17th of February, and were cantoned between Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda.

Some

Some preſſing concerns detained the General at Antwerp, from which he departed on the 22d with the remainder of his army and the requiſite artillery. The army conſiſted of twenty-one battalions, excluſive of the cavalry and light troops: if complete theſe battalions would have amounted to 14,000 men; but there were not more than 10,000 properly accoutered; among this number were the 90th regiment (formerly that of Conti) which had never ſeen ſervice; the national gendarmerie and troops of the line, amounting only to two battalions. The artillery conſiſted of four twelve-pounders, eight eight-pounders, four mortars of ten inches, twenty hand-grenades, and four howitzers. This ſmall army was arranged by Dumourier into four diviſions; the advanced guard, commanded by General Berneron, was compoſed of two battalions of national guards, two of Dutch refugees, the Belgian corps, a part of the northern legion, fifty dragoons of the 6th regiment, eighty Dutch dragoons, and the cavalry of the legion of the north.

The right diviſion conſiſted of nine battalions of national Guards, the two battalions of gendarmerie, with one hundred and twenty French huſſars. This diviſion was commanded by General D'Arçon, aſſiſted by Colonel Weſtermann. It ſhould be obſerved that the gendarmes, though nominally two, were efficiently to be reckoned but as one; indeed their want of diſcipline and licentious behaviour, which has already been alluded to, rendered them very unfit for ſervice.

The left diviſion was under the command of Colonel Le Clerc; it conſiſted of nine battalions, including one of troops of the line, and upwards of two hundred French

 huſſars,

huſſars, the remainder of the regiment to which the hundred and fifty in the right diviſion belonged.

The rear was compoſed of a battalion of national guards, a Dutch battalion, two hundred Belgians, one hundred troopers of the 20th regiment, and a hundred Belgic huſſars; it was commanded by Colonel Tilly, one of the General's aides-de-camp. To each of theſe diviſions was allotted a part of the artillery.

With this little army did Dumourier undertake to conquer Holland: the deſign might appear hopeleſs; but there was a ſtrong party in the country, who were ready to ſupport his attempt. His troops, though they wanted time and good officers to give them proper diſcipline, were full of courage, and impatient to undertake the enterpriſe, which had a boldneſs in its aſpect extremely well adapted to their national genius. The General informed his troops of every difficulty they had to encounter from the rigour of the climate; the canals and arms of the ſea to be croſſed; and the fortreſſes, ſurrounded by inundations, that were to be taken; but having ſtated theſe impediments he aſſured them, that when once they ſhould get into Holland they would be joined by many friends, and amply provided with every neceſſary and comfortable accommodation. Senſibility and quickneſs of conception are the characteriſtics of the French ſoldier; he cannot be led to victory by the mechanical means of the military ſcience: if he hears his general unfold the difficulties of an enterpriſe, he thinks of nothing but to ſurmount them, and enters on the taſk with pleaſure and alacrity; but if not previouſly acquainted with the danger, he is confounded as ſoon as it appears; he ſuſpects himſelf to be the blind victim of a deſperate attempt, and after

after this mistrust it is not possible to rally or make him obedient.

Dumourier had ordered General Berneron, with the advanced guard, to march forward, promising that he should be speedily supported by the rest of the army. By instructions under the hand of Dumourier, General Berneron was also directed to send immediately a detachment of eight hundred foot and a hundred horse, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Daendels, a Dutch refugee, to Moor Dyke, in order to seize on all the vessels to be found there, or at Swaluve or Roowaert. General Berneron was ordered to place the rest of his division along the Merck, and to throw a bridge over it, to secure a communication with the colonel, whom he was to support should the neighbouring garrisons make any sorties. Three regiments of dragoons, exceeding in number all the cavalry of Dumourier, were in Bergen-op-Zoom, Gertruydenburg, and Breda; and if they had acted in conjunction with the cavalry of Heusden and Bois-le-Duc, would have been strong enough to have beaten back the advanced guard of the French army, by which the expedition would have been intirely defeated; it was, however, well known to Dumourier that not one of the Dutch generals had the safety of the country in charge, or any authority to assemble those troops for its defence, and the attention of the commanders of the different towns was taken up in concerting measures for their preservation, not having expected any attack at so early a part of the season. When Dumourier came to his first post on the 22d, he was struck with surprise and chagrin to find his orders not executed, no part of the advanced guard having yet passed the Merck; and this neglect had given the Dutch sufficient time to draw

their veſſels from the Moor Dyke to Dort, and put them in the protection of three guard-ſhips that were ſtationed at the latter place. By this error the General found it nearly impracticable to paſs over to Dort, unleſs other boats could be obtained inſtead of thoſe he expected would be ſeized for the purpoſe. The General then commanded Berneron and Daendels to advance with all poſſible ſpeed; at the ſame time he directed General D'Arçon to inveſt Breda with the right diviſion, and Colonel Le Clerc to blockade Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg cloſely with the left; the out-poſts of theſe two laſt places were abandoned by the officers there in command. The ſmall fort of Blaw Shys was ſoon taken by Colonel Le Clerc, who then ſummoned Steenberg to ſurrender; a few trifling ſallies were made by the garriſon of Bergén-op-Zoom, and which only produced the deſertion of ſome of the ſoldiers to the Dutch Patriotic Legion.

General Dumourier ſent his advanced guard to beſiege Klundert and Williamſtadt, and commanded Lieutenant-Colonel Daendels to prevent communication between Klundert and Williamſtadt, by poſting his detachment at Nordſchantz, where three veſſels were ſeized by that officer.

The General himſelf proceeded with his rear guard between the two diviſions of his army to Sevenbergen; he appointed Meſſrs. Koch and De Niſs to be colonels; theſe gentlemen (Dutch Refugees) were two of the four perſons to whom Dumourier confidentially imparted his plan. Koch, an eloquent and enterpriſing man, was to aſſiſt Daendels; De Niſs, a man of cool bravery and information, accompanied the General. The difficulty of paſſing to Dort by the Moor Dyke did not eſcape the mind of Dumourier; the firſt plan for that purpoſe was this: agreeable

to

to the orders given to General Berneron, Koch and Daendels were to proceed by the 17th to Moor Dyke, ſupported by the advanced guard poſted on the Merck; all the veſſels they could find were then to be fully manned, and they were to paſs to Dort, reckoning on the co-operation of the inhabitants, by whoſe aſſiſtance it was propoſed to diſarm the garriſon (conſiſting of 250 men) if they ſhould be unwilling to join the army. At Dort there were upwards of an hundred veſſels; theſe were to be conducted to the Moor Dyke, and about four of the largeſt of them, armed with cannon, were to be ſent forward to drive away or capture the three guard-ſhips, which were very indifferently manned and armed.

When the plan had thus far operated, the main body of the army was to advance to Sevenbergen, Oudenboſch, Moor Dyke, and Swaluve, and to paſs from thence in one or two diviſions to Dort: they were to be protected in embarking by the rear guard, which was to deſtroy the bridge thrown over the Merck, and prevent the garriſons from paſſing that river to haraſs the army, which, when once arrived at Dort, was likely to meet with no other obſtacle.

General Dumourier, the evening he left Antwerp, met, at a ſmall village on his route, the Baron De Stael, who had been ambaſſador from Sweden to France, and was then proceeding for Paris; they ſupped together, and the Baron informed the General, that in every part of Germany and Holland through which he had paſſed he had obſerved the greateſt approbation of the General's enterpriſe, and that the Stadtholder's party was much terrified: the Baron aſſerted that his journey to Paris was about his own private affairs. Dumourier, without preſſing to know what might

be

be its real object, advised the Baron not to depend on the present aspect of events; but to be extremely cautious of what he said at Paris, and to avoid as much as possible pledging his court to any certain conduct.

The General gave similar advice to a personage of very high rank from Poland, who visited him in his quarters. Every opportunity was taken by Dumourier of giving these cautions, that foreign courts might not precipitately pledge themselves to a government, the usurpers of which would neither consult prudence nor honour when disposed to break their engagements.

Though the original plan of the General was deranged by the neglect of the officers of the advanced guard, he did not lose hopes of success; but new means were concerted, twenty-three vessels, from 20 to 70 tons, were found in the canals between Oudenbosch and Sevenbergen.

The commissary Boursier, an intelligent and active man, was ordered to make these vessels fit to carry 1200 men, and to mount four of them with cannon, to form the advanced guard of this little squadron. All the carpenters and sailors of the small ports thereabout were also impressed, but were handsomely paid from the funds of the Dutch Revolutionary Committee, and on the credit of the property of the partizans of the Prince of Orange.

Dumourier's army, from the moment it entered on the Dutch territory, was chearfully supplied by the inhabitants with forage, money, and provisions. Never was an army more cordially received, nor did one ever shew itself less entitled to such treatment. The gendarmerie and light troops exercised every species of disorder and oppression; but the national guards and the troops of the line, much to their honour, are not to be included in the reproach.

Time

Time being neceſſary to prepare the veſſels, the General made an important alteration in his firſt plan; when his intention was to elude the ſtrong places on his right and left, (one of which at leaſt he would afterwards have attempted to take) and to endeavour at an immediate paſſage from the Moor Dyke. The General directed that no regular ſiege ſhould be undertaken, which would have collected the army into one point, and diſcovered its weakneſs. The garriſons that were not attacked would then have recovered from their ſurpriſe, interrupted Dumourier's communication with Antwerp, and diſperſed the little fleet upon which he materially relied; therefore, while Colonel Le Clerc blockaded Bergen-op-Zoom, and Steenberg, General D'Arçon was ordered to attack Breda, and the advanced guard to fall at the ſame time upon Klundert. Breda, a town celebrated for its ſtrength, was furniſhed with 200 pieces of cannon, well paliſadoed, and protected by an inundation; it was garriſoned by 1200 infantry, and a regiment of dragoons, but Count de Byland, the governor, was a courtier, and not a ſoldier: without opening any trenches, General D'Arçon planted two batteries, of four mortars and four howitzers, very near the town. During three days the enemy anſwered by a briſk fire; on the fourth General D'Arçon had but ſixty bombs remaining, and muſt have raiſed the ſiege after they were diſcharged. At this juncture Colonel Philip De Vaux ſummoned the place a ſecond time, repreſenting to the governor that General Dumourier approached with his army, and that in caſe of a refuſal to ſurrender, no quarter would be given to the garriſon: this created an alarm, and the governor and his officers immediately capitulated on honourable terms. The town, which was very little damaged, was then entered by the

the French troops, who took poſſeſſion of a great quantity of ammunition ſtores.

In two days after the ſurrender of Breda, Klundert was taken. This little fort was alſo protected by an inundation, and its works were very regular: it was defended with more bravery than judgment, by a lieutenant-colonel (a native of Weſtphalia) in the Dutch ſervice. There were no more than 150 men in the place. General Berneron had placed a battery of four cannon, and ſome ſmall mortars, at 150 toiſes from the fort; the commander of which kept up an inceſſant fire for ſeveral days, but without effect; and having at laſt no ſhelter for his troops, reſolved to retreat to Williamſtadt, after ſpiking his cannon. In this attempt he was intercepted by Colonel Hartmann, at the head of a regiment of Dutch refugees: he ſhot the colonel dead, and himſelf received at the ſame time a ball, by which he was killed on the ſpot: his men were made priſoners, and his body was carried to Klundert, after taking out the keys of the town which were in his pocket. About 80,000 lb. weight of powder, 53 pieces of cannon, ſome mortars, and a great number of bombs and ſhot, were found in Klundert. General Berneron was immediately diſpatched by Dumourier to undertake the ſiege of Williamſtadt, which was to be conducted with the ammunition and artillery of Klundert. General D'Arçon was alſo ordered to begin the ſiege of Gertruydenberg. This inconſiderable town was poorly defended on the ſide of Ramſdonec, having in that quarter only a ſlight paliſadoe, and being commanded by neighbouring heights: on the left ſide of the Donge it was, however, defended by an extenſive inundation, and two lines of ſtrong outworks, which with proper reſiſtance could not have been carried in leſs than three

weeks.

weeks. It was garrifoned by the regiment of Hirtzell, amounting nearly to 900 men, and a fine regiment of dragoons, part of the Stadtholder's guard. The governor, an old man named Bedault, was a major-general in the Dutch fervice. General D'Arçon opened the fiege with the cannon and mortars that he brought from Breda. The outworks were all carried or abandoned by the enemy the fecond day: batteries were erected on feveral of them, and after a few fhot had been exchanged, Colonel De Vaux entered the place, which capitulated with the honours of war. Dumourier, who had arrived in the mean time, dined with the governor, old General Bedault, who intimated that his furrender was occafioned by his being difappointed of veffels from Dort, to enable him to evacuate the place. A lieutenant colonel of the national guards (a diforderly fellow, who was bred a taylor at Lifle) had got drunk and violated the truce: he infifted on entering the city, in fpite of the centinels; and attempted to difcharge a piftol at the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Hirtzel.

Dumourier having ordered the drunkard to be brought into the room where he was at dinner with the governor, tore the epaulette from his fhoulder, and reduced him to the ranks; while the aftonifhed officers of the garrifon interceded for his pardon. By this conqueft a confiderable quantity of artillery and ammunition was gained; alfo an excellent port, and thirty-five veffels of various fizes, in addition to five that had been taken at Breda. It was now the beginning of March, and while thefe fieges were carrying on, General Dumourier was at the Moor Dyke, which he made the center of his operations. Bourfier, the commiffary, with great exertion, had armed twenty-three veffels, and fupplied them with provifions for 1200 men.

General ſent theſe veſſels down the canal of Sevenbergen to Roowaert, a ſmall creek lying a quarter of a league weſt of the Moor Dyke. Dumourier had there fixed his quarters with fifty dragoons and a hundred Dutch chaſſeurs, when he was annoyed a whole day by the three guard-ſhips; he therefore poſted his chaſſeurs along the Dyke, who killed two of the men on board the ſhips, and forced them to quit their ſtation.

By the General's direction huts, covered with ſtraw, were built on the ſands from Roowaert to Swaluve: the ſoldiers there amuſed themſelves; but were impatient to get to Dort. Dumourier, who lived and lodged like his men, in jeſt frequently compared them to beavers. Proviſions were plentiful, the water tolerably good, and brandy was diſtributed every morning to the troops.

The probability of being oppoſed by gun-boats, in endeavouring to conduct artillery and plant batteries over Holland, occaſioned Dumourier to adopt the beſt means of encountering ſuch a kind of oppoſition: among his battalions of volunteers there were ſeveral men from Gaſcony, Brittany, Normandy, and Dunkirk; of theſe he formed a body of near five hundred ſailors, and gave them additional wages of twenty ſols per day.

The ſquadron at Roowaert was to carry the General's advanced guard, and he appointed to the command of it an Engliſh naval officer and a lieutenant in the Dutch navy, aſſiſted by ſome pilots of the country; but the delays unavoidable in this expedition had enabled the Dutch to increaſe their ſquadron in the Biſbos, or ſmall ſea of the Moor Dyke. It already conſiſted of twelve armed ſhips, one carrying twenty guns; and the veſſels were all diſpoſed with great judgment to oppoſe the paſſage of the General.

Batteries

Batteries had alſo been erected by the Dutch at Stry, and along the coaſt of the iſland of Dort, which according to report, was to receive a reinforcement of 1200 of the Britiſh guards, who had been landed at Helvoetſluys, ſhortly after war was declared. Dumourier was however perſuaded that no certain intelligence of his plan was known to the enemy, becauſe the Prince of Orange was making the moſt preparation for defence at Gorcum, where he had gathered an army to hinder the General's progreſs.

Dumourier ſtill wiſhing to conceal his real deſign, continued the blockade of Bergen-op-Zoom and Steenberg, and ordered General De Flers, who had juſt come from Paris with a reinforcement, to occupy the quarters of Colonel Le Clerc at Roſendael, and ſurround Bergen-op-Zoom with 6000 men; he then ordered the left diviſion to advance towards Oudenboſch and Sevenbergen, and diſpatched the national gendarmerie with ſome cavalry from his right, to appear on the ſide of Heuſden. The ſiege of Williamſtadt was continued with very little ſucceſs by General Berneron, who by beginning his attack at too great a diſtance, had waſted much ammunition, and made no progreſs: one front only of this town was open to attack, and which was exceedingly narrow. Two engineers of great ability, Du Bois de Crancé (brother to the deputy of that name, but a much worthier character) and Mareſcot, were ſent by Dumourier to aſſiſt General Berneron. Theſe two officers altered the plan of attack, but were ſoon afterwards killed in a ſortie made by the garriſon: being deſerted by the ſoldiers, General Berneron did not raiſe the ſiege till Dumourier departed for the main army. A conſiderable number of veſſels being found at Gertruydenberg, the General determined by means of them, to attempt a

paſſage from that place to Dort; the diſtance was rather longer than from Moor Dyke. Various preparations for this purpoſe were made with great diſpatch; but cares of another kind were approaching, and the war was decided by a ſeries of misfortunes, even more rapid than the ſucceſs with which it had been commenced. The ſiege of Maeſtricht was begun on the 20th of February, but was obſtinately defended, though General Miranda had ſet fire to ſeveral quarters of the city. A number of emigrants, headed by M. D'Autichamp, a lieutenant-general in the army of the Prince de Condé, aſſiſted to defend the town, and to that circumſtance its preſervation may with juſtice be attributed. A reinforcement of Pruſſians having entered Venloo, General Champmorin was unable to carry it, though he had taken the for of Stevenſwaert, and that of St. Michael commanding the entrance of the bridge of Venloo, on the left ſide of the Meuſe. The military capacity of General Valence was reſpectable, but his authority over the troops was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to prevent the abſence of Dumourier from being greatly felt. The quarters about Aix-la-Chapelle were occupied by General Stengel, an officer highly fit to command an advanced guard, being well acquainted with the diſcipline of the light troops. General Dampierre had the command in Aix-la-Chapelle, and was a ſhameful example of diſſipation and rapacity. This General was a man of very mean talents, but raſh, ambitious, and deceitful: he was connected with the Jacobins, and by aſſiſting their calumnies againſt ſuperior officers, hoped to obtain the chief command.

There was in fact a great miſunderſtanding among the French generals, and the troops were very injudiciouſly

diſpoſed.

diſpoſed. The Prince of Cobourg, who knew of theſe circumſtances, aſſembled his army, marched to Aldenhoven, and without any difficulty penetrated the quarters of the French, who immediately fell back to Liege in great confuſion, and without making the leaſt reſiſtance to the Prince's army. General Le Veneur, who was commanding the attack of Maeſtricht on the ſide of Wyck, fortunately paſſed the Meuſe with his cannon: Maeſtricht was now entered by the Auſtrians, but General Miranda by continuing to bombard Maeſtricht, and collecting his army between that place and Tongres, might have prevented the further approach of the Prince of Cobourg: ſuch orders had been given to General Miranda, by Dumourier and Valence: the latter General, a few days afterwards, by charging with his cavalry on the plain of Tongres, ſaved a column of twenty-ſeven battalions on their retreat to Liege, and General Lanoue diſcovered great courage and capacity in retreating from Aix-la-Chapelle. Miranda had loſt the preſence of mind neceſſary to execute the orders that had been given him, and by his own authority he directed his troops to abandon the Meuſe: the Auſtrians purſuing their ſucceſs, croſſed the Meuſe, entered Liege, and took poſſeſſion of the magazines of the French army, that in great conſternation had left its baggage and every thing behind, except the heavy artillery, which was carried to Louvain, and from thence to Tournay. The Pruſſians ſoon took poſſeſſion of the Lower Meuſe, and might have fallen on the rear of the French army in Holland: this important opportunity was not taken by Prince Frederick of Brunſwick, and Dumourier availed himſelf of the neglect, by ſecuring his army. The troops commanded by Valence and Miranda were greatly confounded; they openly accuſed their officers,

officers, and even threatened General Miranda's life. Generals Valence and Thouvenot by their prudence brought the army into ſome order, but the ſoldiers deſerted in great numbers, and upwards of 10,000 returned to France. At this criſis the army loudly required the preſence of General Dumourier: the commiſſioners of the National Convention, by repeated expreſſes, urged him to depart immediately for Louvain; the General ſaid in reply, that the army might with ſome judgment be maintained in its poſition, and that if he was allowed time to finiſh what he was about, affairs might ſtill be proſperous. The Generals Valence and Thouvenot were of the ſame opinion; but Miranda now appeared as much terrified as he was raſh in aſſerting before, that nothing was to be apprehended from the Auſtrian army. The commiſſioners of the Convention having journeyed to Paris with the utmoſt expedition, reported the ſituation of the army to be ſo alarming, that it was pronounced that there was no remedy for the evil, but the immediate preſence of General Dumourier, who was commanded in the ſtrongeſt terms inſtantly to quit the Dutch expedition, and ſet out for the grand army: this order he received on the 8th of March, and on the 9th departed for the army with a mind agitated by all the diſtraction of diſappointment.

General De Flers was intruſted with the command of the Troops in Holland: Dumourier knew that this General was not equal in capacity to the intricacies of the undertaking, but there was no other general officer to put in his place; for D'Arçon was unable to keep the field, being ill with the gout; and Lieutenant General Maraſſé, who commanded at Antwerp, on account of his great age, could not be truſted in an active ſituation. Colonel Thouvenot,

Thouvenot, upon whoſe abilities Dumourier greatly depended, was left with General De Flers, and poſſeſſed a copy of the inſtructions given to the latter, who was recommended to undertake nothing contrary to the advice of the colonel.

General Dumourier's abſence entirely depreſſed the ſpirits of this little army. Thoſe who had diſcovered the moſt ardent alacrity in ſupport of the enterpriſe, now deemed it impracticable, and it ſoon afterwards became ſo.

The Dutch ſquadron being reinforced, and the Pruſſians on the way to Bois-le-Duc, General De Flers, with ſix battalions and two hundred horſe, threw himſelf into Breda, and Colonel Tilly into Gertruydenberg, with three battalions and fifty horſe. By the judicious conduct of Colonels De Vaux and Thouvenot, the reſt of the army got ſafely to Antwerp; the fortifications of Klundert being blown up before the retreat by order of Colonel Thouvenot.

Thus finiſhed the expedition of General Dumourier into Holland: it was planned and commenced within ten days, and would no doubt have ſucceeded, but for the derangement of the army, which unfortunately happened at Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Arrival of Dumourier at Antwerp—Agents of the French Executive Government—Their oppressive Conduct in Belgium—Ordered by Dumourier to leave Antwerp—Treatment of the Belgians—The General endeavours to redress their Grievances—Reaches Louvain—Is met there by the Commissioners of the Convention.

THE important considerations that had lately occupied the attention of the General, did not prevent him from reflecting, with extreme sorrow, on the tyranny experienced by the Belgians from the government of France and its agents. He arrived at Antwerp on the 2nd of February, and found the city greatly dismayed by the insolence of one of these commissioners, whom he caused to be immediately recalled. Every city in Belgium was under the domination of one or more of these tyrants, whose behaviour was as ridiculous as vexatious, for they affected to appear with military pomp. They began their career in the Netherlands, by putting the silver of the churches, the revenues of the clergy, and the estates of the nobility under sequestration: they pillaged the furniture of the nobles and clergy, or sold it at a very low price to the accomplices in their nefarious villainy: they abolished taxes to flatter the people: they expelled the magistrates from their offices, erected clubs, and governed in the most arbitrary manner, by the blind obedience of the military. This outrageous oppression through all the Netherlands became intolerable: it was repeatedly complained of by the General to the Convention, and to the commissioners Camus, Treilhard, Merlin, and Gossuin, whom he met at Ghent.

These

Theſe commiſſioners were either unable or unwilling to make redreſs, though Dumourier ſtated to them the calamity that would enſue, ſhould the Prince of Cobourg appear on the frontiers, when the Belgians would certainly take the opportunity of avenging their wrongs, by an inſurrection, in which the French garriſons, already enfeebled, would moſt probably be deſtroyed. The apprehenſions of the General were increaſed by the conduct of the commiſſioners, when they called the people together to conſent to the act of union between France and the Belgic Provinces. In defiance of decency, the people were aſſembled in crowds in the churches, while a French commiſſioner (ſupported by the military) read the act, and made a ſpeech on the occaſion, neither of which the audience underſtood, but ſigned the act from the impulſe of fear. Reports of theſe meetings were afterwards printed by order of the commiſſioners, and tranſmitted to the National Convention, which, in its *fraternal* phrenſy, immediately erected another department. The act was frequently enforced by violence; muſkets and ſabres were uſed in the aſſemblies at Bruſſels and at Mons; many perſons were wounded, and proteſts were made in form againſt this compulſive union.

Several inſurrections took place; but the moſt dangerous was at Grammont, where 10,000 peaſants had aſſembled in arms, and were poſſeſſed of ſome cannon: they impriſoned the commiſſioners, and forced the garriſon at Ghent to retreat.

The French army was hardly in ſufficient force to reſiſt the Auſtrians, and could ſpare no troops to put an end to thoſe tumults, which rapidly increaſed. Dumourier had always oppoſed the unjuſt treatment of the Netherlands, and refuſed to be an inſtrument in executing

the tyrannic decrees of the National Convention; he had now two objects in view, to redress the grievances of this injured country, and to effect the safety of his own army. When he returned to Antwerp on the 11th, he found the city in great confusion. Chaussart, a Commissioner of the Executive Power, and who had *modestly* given himself the surname of Publicola, had issued orders to arrest the magistrates and principal citizens. General Marassé delayed to execute this order; but the Bishop of Antwerp and other respectable characters, who were included in it, had fled, or were in concealment. Chaussart and his associates were peremptorily ordered by Dumourier to leave Antwerp, and go to Brussels, or they should be taken there by force. Chaussart insolently complained of this order, and said that it seemed to be dictated by a Vizir. Dumourier answered with good humour, "*I am certainly as much of a Vizir as you are of a Publicola.*"

Chaussart was thus compelled instantly to quit the town of Antwerp, and Dumourier endeavoured to restore the tranquillity of that important place, by recalling the magistrates and prohibiting the interference of the Jacobin Club in public matters. Dumourier afterwards set out for Brussels, having first deprived General Moreton of the command on account of the many complaints made against his atrocious conduct.

General Duval was appointed in the room of Moreton: he was an officer of considerable merit, clear faculties, and estimable qualities: he had served the preceding year with great credit, but ill health afterwards prevented him from joining the army. This general gave Dumourier particular information concerning the state of the troops at Louvain: nearly all the tents had been lost in the retreat, and yet it

was

was neceſſary that the army ſhould be enabled to recover its courage and ſtrength by a ſhort encampment; a great number of field-pieces belonging to the army were alſo loſt. The officers who commanded the artillery, not receiving or aſking for any orders during the confuſion of the retreat, held a council of war among themſelves, and it was determined that all the artillery ſhould be conducted to France; and the heavier part of it was already advanced as far as Tournay; the lighter artillery and howitzers remaining at Anderlecht. The General directed that the latter ſhould join the army, and that the former ſhould not proceed any further on the way to France. Many officers and ſoldiers of the army were at Bruſſels on their return to France, but Dumourier ordered them to the camp at Louvain; and diſpatched orders to Mons, Tournay, and other principal towns, that all fugitives from the army ſhould be ſent back. Independently of theſe military concerns, Dumourier was anxious to relieve the Belgians from the effects of the ignorance and tyranny diſplayed by the French commiſſioners; but he knew that in this endeavour he ſhould be expoſed to the vindictive malice of the Jacobins and their friends in the Convention. A little time previous to Dumourier's arrival at Bruſſels, Chepy, an agent of the Executive Power, had urged General Duval to order ſeveral executions.

Chepy proceeded from outrage to outrage; he threatened to fire Bruſſels, or put it to the ſword; he arreſted ſeveral of the moſt wealthy and reſpectable citizens, and ſent them to be confined in the northern fortreſſes. Dumourier, however, put a ſtop to his exceſſes, and ſent him under a guard to Paris.

A legion of Sans-Culottes, raiſed by General Moreton, and compoſed of the loweſt rabble, domineered over the city, and committed the greateſt cruelties and extortions;

theſe banditti were commanded by a Frenchman of infamous character, named Eſtienne: he was impriſoned by Dumourier, who broke the corps, and prohibited the denomination of ſans-culottes. General Dumourier, by various proclamations, authorized the citizens to make complaint to the magiſtrates of any oppreſſions committed by the French, and ordered all the ſacred vaſes to be reſtored to the churches.

The proclamations on theſe, and many ſimilar topics, were printed in both languages, and diſtributed through all the Netherlands: they produced the deſirable effect of calming the minds of the inhabitants. The peaſants of Grammont, who had riſen in inſurrection, laid down their arms, and Dumourier was gratefully hailed as the friend, the father, and protector of Belgia. On the 12th of March the General wrote a letter to the Convention, ſtating every circumſtance of complaint that had occurred among the Belgians, the meaſures he had been obliged to purſue in conſequence, and the danger to be apprehended to the army, unleſs the Convention ſhould ſpeedily and ſolemnly redreſs the wrongs and outrages committed by its agents.

This letter was referred to a committee, the preſident and members of which thought its contents ſo alarming, that it was not publicly read in the Convention, though the General had deſired the war miniſter to produce it, and its accompanying documents, in the moſt open manner.

Dumourier now ordered Petit Jean, the commiſſary, and all the adminiſtrators of proviſions to attend him. He informed them that he expected in a few days to engage the enemy, and after making the neceſſary arrangements, he procured proviſions for fifteen days. The pay-maſter of the

the army having retired to Liſle with two millions in ſpecie, the General wrote to the commandant to ſend him back with a ſtrong eſcort. On the 12th of March in the evening, the General ſet out for Louvain: but previous to an account of the military tranſactions that follow, and to prevent interrupting their detail, it will be eligible to relate the particulars of an interview at that place, between the General and the national commiſſioners. At the time when the army retreated, Danton and La Croix went to Paris, and Camus, Treilhard, Merlin, and Goſſuin retired to the frontiers of France: theſe laſt four having miſſed Dumourier at Bruſſels, proceeded to meet him at Louvain. Camus and Treilhard (the moſt violent of the four) complained that the General had exceeded his authority, by meddling with the civil government of the Provinces. Dumourier anſwered, that in ſo doing he had performed the greateſt of all duties, that of attending to the public ſafety, which depended entirely on the ſecurity of the army; that his proclamations were not only juſt, but rendered by circumſtances abſolutely neceſſary; and that if they themſelves had, after deliberation, oppoſed his meaſures, he ſhould have thought it his duty to perſiſt, for the honour of France, and the redreſs of the much-injured Belgians.

The General in particular appealed to Camus (who was religious even to ſuperſtition) concerning the ſequeſtration of the plate of the churches: he obſerved that it was ſurpriſing a man of his turn of mind ſhould behold ſuch ſacrilege with approbation, or even indifference. "*Go* (ſaid Dumourier) *to the church of Saint Gudule, ſee the hoſt trodden under foot, and waſted on the pavement; the altars broken, and paintings, the maſter-pieces of art, deſtroyed; go and own*

the

the necessity of punishing the agents of your criminal orders. If these crimes are applauded by the Convention; if it neither feels nor detests their enormity, the lot of my unhappy country is much to be pitied: and know, that if it cannot be saved without the commission of crimes, I will not commit them: but here the very crimes of France are ready to turn upon herself, and I serve her in endeavouring to destroy them."

Camus then remarked, that as the silver vessels of the churches had been broken, there would be much difficulty to restore them. "*No matter* (said the General) *the metal still remains, and it will not be very expensive to have them remade.*" During this interview, Camus had said with an air partly jesting and partly serious, "*General, you are accused of wishing to be Cæsar: if so, I design to act the part of Brutus.*" The General answered, "*Dear Camus, I am not Cæsar, nor are you Brutus, and your threat is to me the best assurance of a long life.*"

After three or four hours conversation with the General, the commissioners departed for Brussels. Camus had observed, that he should consider it his duty to make a report of this conversation to the National Convention: this report he afterwards drew up, and agreeably to the malice of his temper, gave every look and expression of the General the most rancorous interpretation. Dumourier returned to a consideration of the best methods to repair the errors committed by his officers, and to infuse if possible into his soldiers, the spirit and confidence that led them to their former victories.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Position and State of the Army—Orders given to the different Divisions—The General determines to give Battle to the Enemy—Explains his Motives.

AT the sight of Dumourier, his troops resumed all their courage, and their hopes: the General reproached them with their want of discipline, and their mistrust of officers, in whose ability he had every reason to confide. They embraced the General with sorrow and repentance, and demanded instantly to be led to the field, that they might regain their honour. This temper of the soldiers considerably enabled Dumourier to restore order among them; in which important task he cannot sufficiently estimate the assistance of General Thouvenot, who possessed all the military virtues in a high degree; and it is with pleasure Dumourier observes, that his friend would become one of the first generals in France, should the times permit him to return to the service of his country.

Exclusive of the garrisons of Belgium, the army amounted to near 40,000 infantry, and 5000 horse. A division of 5000 men, (800 of whom were cavalry) commanded by General La Marliere; the division of Namur, under the command of General D'Harville, consisting of 12,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry; and that of the corps of the army employed in the expedition against Holland, and which after the junction of General De Flers amounted to 18,000 foot and 2000 horse.

The infantry was formed into four divisions, the right commanded by General Valence, the center by the Duke de Chartres, (at that time called Egalité) and the left by General

Miranda

Miranda; each of these divisions consisted of 18 battalions, and amounted to 7000 men. General Chancel commanded the reserve, consisting of eight battalions of grenadiers, and which was placed under the orders of the Duke de Chartres. Miranda had under his orders General Miaczinsky, who had the command of the left flank of the army, consisting of 2000 infantry and 1000 horse; and General Champmorin, commanding a body of 5000 foot and 1000 horse. Under the orders of General Valence, were General Dampierre, who commanded the right flank, consisting of a force equal to that of Miaczinsky; and General Neuilly, who had in command a body of 3000 foot and 1000 horse. The advanced guard consisted of 6000 men, 1500 of which were cavalry: it was commanded by General De la Marche, an old and brave officer, but who frequently stood in need of advice. Much confusion was occasioned by the rapid promotion of officers to the highest ranks in this war. The corps and regiments lost good officers, and the army acquired indifferent generals: yet the army was much in want of general officers, for at this time there were no more than five lieutenant-generals and twelve major-generals, six of whom commanded detached corps, so that but six remained to command in the line.

General Dumourier, when he reached Louvain on the morning of the 13th, found that the three divisions of his infantry were encamped on the heights behind Louvain, having the canal of Malines in front: at the distance of two leagues beyond Bautersem was posted the body of reserve, with a small number of horse; and at Cumptich, more than two leagues beyond the body of reserve, the advanced guard, having a force of about 400 men in Tirlemont.

The enemy had advanced, and occupied all the villages between

between Tirlemont and Tongres; their design was to turn our right on the 16th: if that had been done on the 13th or 14th, the advanced guard would have fallen back on the reserve, and the latter on the main body, and the whole army, having no fixed rallying point, would have been defeated and dispersed. General Dumourier visited the advanced guard on the 14th, and directed movements by which the position of his army was altered much for the better with respect to security: he placed General Dampierre, with the troops under his command, at Hougaerde, to the right of Cumptich; and ordered General Neuilly to advance from Judoigne to Lummen, that the right wing of the army might be strengthened, and the line extended beyond that of the enemy. General Miaczinsky was commanded to place himself to the left, between Diest and Tirlemont; and General Champmorin was ordered to occupy Diest with his division. General La Marlière was directed to leave a small body of troops at Aerschette, to keep open the communication with Diest, and proceed with the remainder of his force to overawe the country of Campine, check the Prussian column that might advance in that quarter, and cover the retreat of the army employed in the Dutch expedition, should it have given up the attempt of passing to Dort. Directions were also sent to General de Flers to throw himself as quick as possible into Breda; to send Colonel Tilly for the same purpose to Gertruydenberg, with the troops specified; and the remainder of the army to the lines of Antwerp, to be subject to the orders of General Marassé. Colonel Westermann was ordered to post himself at Turnhout, with the gendarmerie and northern legion, to protect this retreat, to check the enemy, and keep open the communication with General La Marlière and the main

army. The advanced guard of the enemy attacked Tirlemont on the morning of the 15th of March; the four hundred men posted there fell back with some loss. General Dampierre, on hearing the firing, abandoned his post, and fell back on Louvain, ordering General Neuilly at the same time to retire to Judoigne. Dumourier could not devote time to discover whether this movement on his right was the result of fear or treachery; had the enemy been acquainted with it they might have easily defeated the French army.

Dumourier industriously endeavoured to repair this error, which was of the greatest mischief in habituating the troops to fly at the appearance of danger; and on the same night he ordered those two divisions to resume their posts. By a coincidence extremely singular General Miaczinsky committed the same error, and retired for two days into the wood near Louvain. The position he had left was occupied by the troops under the command of General Champmorin, who was ordered to post himself, as soon as possible, on the heights of Oplinter, to the left of Tirlemont. The enemy had fixed the 16th for their march, having, fortunately for the French army, not discovered its retrograde movements of the 15th: General Dumourier then advanced with his army to take Tirelemont, in order to prevent the falling back of his troops. Tirlemont was occupied by a considerable advanced guard of the Austrians. On the morning of the 16th Dumourier made a spirited attack on the enemy, and, after some resistance, took possession of Tirlemont. About a league and a half on the right, beyond Tirlemont, there was a village called Gotzenhoven, which commanded the whole plain; Dumourier sent General De la Marche, with his advanced guard, to take

possession

possession of it, and the Austrians did not till then perceive the importance of the post. They were still in possession of the village of Meer and Hattendover, which Dumourier caused to be quickly attacked by his columns. The Austrians attempted to dislodge the French from Gotzenhoven: this attempt was repeated several times with great bravery, but without success. The advanced guards of the two armies were engaged full eight hours, when the Austrians retreated: their loss was much greater than that of the French; but the latter were once in danger of losing their general: 1200 men were lost by the enemy in this engagement, which re-animated the courage of the French soldiers. Dumourier saw that decision was necessary after this advantage, as the Austrians were receiving continually reinforcements of troops, while none were expected by the French; the enemy's cavalry was also much superior both in number and discipline: it was therefore necessary, on the part of the French, to engage the Austrians before the arrival of more troops to the Prince of Cobourg. The armies were upon the whole equal in force, and there was a reasonable presumption that the side which should begin the attack would have the advantage in point of spirit and confidence. The hopes of General Dumourier were placed on gaining, in this instance, a decisive battle, which would have restored him to his superiority in the opinion of the army; and, by securing the Belgians to his interest, have reinforced his troops with the twenty-five battalions which that people had undertaken to raise. Dumourier would also have been able to regain the ground lost on the side of Liege, and to compel the Prince of Cobourg to repass the Meuse. In case of success it was the General's intention to have formed an intrenched camp, in a strong position,

between the two Gettes, under the command of General Valence, for the purpose of watching the enemy, and receiving the fresh troops that might arrive from France and Belgium: General D'Harville in the mean time might have been equally reinforced on the side of Namur; and General Valence, being master of the country, would have been a check on the Prince of Cobourg: Miranda would have been posted with an army at Antwerp; and Dumourier, advancing against Bois-le-Duc, would at once have forced the passages of Moor Dyke and Gorcum; and if unable to penetrate into Holland, might at least have taken possession of Dutch Flanders. Had he so succeeded he would have been able to defy the National Convention; perhaps to have avenged the death of the unfortunate Louis, and given repose to France by establishing a monarchy on constitutional principles: if, on the other hand, a defeat should take place, it was Dumourier's design to take a position behind the canal of Louvain, in order to reinforce his army and cover Brussels; secondly, to keep the position of Namur, by increasing the corps of General D'Harville to 25,000 men, and to place General Neuilly's division at Judoigne, to cover Dumourier's retreat by the forest of Soignies; thirdly, to collect a body of 25,000 troops near Antwerp, and holding Breda and Gertruydenberg still in possession, to keep open the communication to those places by the posts of Liers and Diest; fourthly, to gather 14 or 15,000 men on the side of Bruges to cover maritime Flanders; fifthly, to negotiate with the Austrians for a suspension of arms, and to endeavour, in the mean time, to convince his own troops of the absurd anarchy prevailing in France, and to persuade them to assist him in putting an end to its destructive consequences. A ten thus preparing the

minds

minds of the ſoldiers, it was Dumourier's intention to reinforce his army with the Belgic battalions, to declare openly for a limited monarchy, and march to Paris for the purpoſe of reſtoring order, and liberating the Royal Family.

Theſe were the objects of Dumourier, previous to the battle of Nerwinde. The General had not the baſeneſs to wiſh the enemy victorious; but exerted every effort to prevail in the conteſt: though he deteſted the abominable cruelties which had been committed under the auſpices of the National Convention, he loved his country; and to the laſt moment of his military meaſures endeavoured to preſerve it from the compulſive influence of a foreign foe. He has been accuſed by the Elector of Cologne of not changing his party till victory declared againſt him; but whoever reads theſe Memoirs will find that Dumourier has been conſiſtent in his opinions, and at a time when a war, founded on opinion, might have given excuſe to inſtability of principles. His affection for his country has been frank and generous, and neither fanatical, unjuſt, nor cruel. This character, which Dumourier will always be happy to preſerve, expoſed him to the perſecution of the Jacobins: by the Emigrants he has been equally deteſted, though on all occaſions they have experienced from him a liberal and humane treatment; he cannot reproach himſelf with having ever adopted ſanguinary or perfidious meaſures; he cannot be charged with inſolent behaviour in ſucceſs, nor with abject weakneſs in contrary circumſtances. When he reſtored the Netherlands to the Emperor he made no ſtipulations for himſelf, nor did he even demand an aſylum in the Emperor's territories; he demanded nothing of the Prince of Cobourg, but to aſſiſt in terminating the anarchy that diſtracted France. Had he found a refuge in

no

no other place, the dominions of the Emperor ſhould have afforded him one: but his conduct has been cruelly miſrepreſented; time, however, will do juſtice to truth, and Dumourier conſoles himſelf in obſerving, with the judicious Roman *, "*Perfecta ars, fortunæ lenocinio defecta, fiducia juſta non exuiter, quamque ſcit te laudem mereri, eam etſi ab aliis non impetrat, domeſtico tamen acceptam judicio refert.*

CHAP. VI.

Engagement between the French and Auſtrians at the Village of Nerwinde—The Succeſs of Dumourier's army prevented by the Retreat of General Miranda.

THE Prince of Cobourg having advanced between Tongres, St. Tron, and Landen, the two armies were in ſight of each other. On the 17th General Dumourier reconnoitered the enemy's poſition, formed his troops in order of battle, and digeſted his plan of attack. The poſition of the Prince of Cobourg appeared to Dumourier to be moſt ſtrong on the ſide of Tongres and St. Tron; becauſe, being under the neceſſity of drawing proviſions from Maeſtricht, his left, which extended on the ſide of Landen, was weaker, and conſequently more liable to be turned or broken; it was known alſo to Dumourier that the Prince of Cobourg had neglected to occupy the ſmall city of Leaw, which would have been an important poſt, as the center of the motions, or a point of reſiſtance for the army.

The three villages of Oberwinde, Middlewinde, and Nerwinde, were in the front of that part of the enemy's

* Valerius Maximus.

line,

line, which extended from Landen towards Leaw. There was an eminence, called the Tomb of Middlewinde, which commanded the three villages, and a valley ſeparating them from the city of Landen; to occupy this place it was neceſſary to be maſter of all the plain, and, in caſe of an attack, to repulſe the enemy. The following was Dumourier's plan for the battle: the firſt column, forming the right flank of the army, compoſed of the advanced guard, under General De la Marche, was to enter the plain between Landen and Oberwinde; and to extend itſelf beyond the left of the enemy, to haraſs that flank. The ſecond column, conſiſting of the infantry of the army of the Ardennes, under the command of General Le Veneur, and ſupported by a ſtrong body of cavalry, was to gain, by a rapid movement, the Tomb of Middlewinde, and attack the village of Oberwinde; while this attack was making, the third column, under General Neuilly, was to fall on the right of the village of Nerwinde. In theſe three columns conſiſted the right wing of the army, under the command of General Valence, who, in caſe of ſucceſs, was to wheel to the left, drive that wing of the enemy before him, and continue marching between Landen and St. Tron in the order of battle. The Duc de Chartres had the command of the center, which was compoſed of two columns: the firſt (which was fourth in the order of attack) commanded by Lieutenant-General Dietmann, paſſing the river by the bridge of Laer, and quickly croſſing the village of that name, was to preſs forward, and fall immediately on the front of Nerwinde. The left wing, under the command of General Miranda, was compoſed of three columns: the firſt (being ſixth in the order of attack) under General Miaczinſki, after paſſing the river, was to charge

charge ſtraight forward to Neerlanden, but not to preſs beyond the head of the fifth column. The ſeventh column, commanded by General Ruault, was to paſs the river at the bridge of Orſmael, and keep the enemy engaged by the high road of St. Tron. The eighth column, under General Champmorin, was to paſs the river at the bridge of Bingen, and to occupy Leaw till the end of the battle, if complete ſucceſs followed. At the end of the action the army was to be ranged in order of battle; the left wing at Leaw; the right at St. Tron; and having its front towards Tongres, the only point of retreat for the Auſtrians: batteries were alſo to be raiſed on the banks of the Gette, to protect the retreat of the columns in caſe of a repulſe. Between ſeven and eight o'clock in the morning of the 18th of March the ſeveral columns began at the ſame time to move in great order, and paſſed the river without any impediment. The firſt error of the day was committed by General De la Marche, who, after entering, agreeably to his inſtructions, the plain of Landen, and not meeting with the enemy moved to the left, for the purpoſe of falling on the village of Oberwinde; and in this attempt was thrown into confuſion by the ſecond column. The troops of the ſecond column, though retarded in their march by artillery, vigorouſly attacked the village of Oberwinde and the Tomb of Middlewinde, which poſts were carried by ten o'clock; the latter, however, was ſoon retaken by the Auſtrians, General Le Veneur not having ſufficiently ſtrengthened himſelf in its poſſeſſion. Nerwinde was briſkly entered by General Neuilly with the third column; he drove out the enemy, but ſoon after abandoned the village and advanced into the plain. It was aſſerted by General Neuilly that General Valence had ordered him to do ſo; but General

Valence

Valence declared, that he had been misunderstood by General Neuilly. The enemy shortly re-entered Nerwinde, but were again driven out by the fourth and fifth columns, under the Duc de Chartres; this part of the army, however, fell into such disorder, by crouding in great numbers into the village, that they immediately abandoned it on the second attack of the enemy. General Dumourier arrived, and directed another attack of the village; it was again carried, but was soon quitted by the French troops, and Dumourier was able to do no more than rally them, at a small distance from Nerwinde, which, though thus evacuated, was not taken possession of by the enemy till the evening. During the confusion in this quarter, the Imperial cavalry rushed into the plain, between Nerwinde and Middlewinde, and charged that of the French, but were repulsed with considerable loss. In this contest, General Valence, who fought with great bravery at the head of the French horse, was wounded, and obliged to retire from the field. While the horse were thus engaged, another body of cavalry entered the plain, and attacked the French infantry, of the fourth column, with great fury. General Thouvenot, who was at the head of this column, opened his ranks to the enemy's cavalry, which was almost totally destroyed, by a heavy and well-directed fire of musquetry and grape shot, from the regiment of Deux Ponts. The fate of the battle on the right, and on the centre, appeared then to be in favour of the French: the troops passed the night on the field of battle, and were fully prepared to attack the enemy the next morning; and the Austrians have since acknowledged, that they had ordered their baggage to Tongres, with a view of retreating; but the fortune of the French troops on the left was very different: when the sixth and seventh

columns were in poſſeſſion of Orſmael, after attacking the enemy with much ſpirit, the volunteer battalions fled, and left the troops of the line intirely expoſed; this diſorder was perceived by the enemy, who, with their cavalry, charged and routed theſe two columns. Major-General Guiſcard, of the artillery, and many other officers, were killed; General Ihler, and General Ruault were wounded. An opportunity yet remained to retrieve the fortune of the day; when the column fled, it was but two o'clock in the afternoon, and, after paſſing the bridge of Orſmael, they were purſued no farther by the Auſtrians. Eight battalions, of the corps of General Miaczinſky, were now arrived at Tirlemont; this was known to General Miranda, who ought immediately to have reinforced himſelf with theſe freſh troops, but either from fear, or jealouſy, he reſolved to ſacrifice General Valence, and retired behind Tirlemont, about two leagues from the field of battle. Whatever was the motive, it was extremely perfidious in Miranda not to ſend notice to General Dumourier of a retreat, that expoſed to the enemy the right and centre of the army; had the Auſtrians taken advantage of this baſe retreat, they might have cut off the right wing of the French, and attacked their centre with ſucceſs, by continuing their purſuit to Tirlemont. Leaw was poſſeſſed by General Champmorin, who remained there till Miranda's retreat, and abandoned it at the cloſe of the day, and then retired to Oplinter, after cutting down the bridge of Bingen, where he had paſſed the river. It was, probably, owing to this poſt at Leaw, that the Auſtrians did not purſue their advantage againſt the left wing of the French, for it would then have been in the power of General Champmorin to have attacked them in flank, on the right. During the whole time of

action, Dumourier was employed in regulating the movements of his centre and right wing, and in bringing the troops, that gave ground, into order, which was the more important as the principal manœuvres were to be executed by those bodies of the army. In the afternoon, at two o'clock, he observed that the firing on the left had ceased, which he thought was the consequence of success: by the nature of the ground he was prevented from seeing the 6th and 7th columns; but knew while they fired that they were advancing forward: he therefore supposed the enemy to be driven in that quarter; but there were no circumstances from which he could collect the least apprehension of Miranda's retreat. However, towards the end of the day, he observed several columns of the enemy moving from their right to reinforce their centre. This gave him a suspicion of the truth; but he was yet uncertain, having received no intelligence from General Miranda: at length he departed with General Thouvenot for the village of Laer, where he arrived at ten o'clock at night, and with great astonishment found that it was abandoned by order of General Dampierre: this general, after behaving valiantly in the battle, had, with his division, repassed the Gette, and gone to his former position at Esemaël in the close of the evening, though he had received no orders to that purpose. Dumourier continued his route, and arrived near the bridge of Orsmael: this place he supposed to be occupied by the troops of General Miranda; but found it in the possession of the Austrian Hulans, by whom he was nearly taken prisoner. Proceeding afterwards by the high-road to Tirlemont, he received from some scattered battalions, intelligence of the disaster his left wing had suffered. General Valence had made every effort to induce Miranda to return to the

attack, aſſuring him that it would complete the ſucceſs already gained by the right wing and the centre of the French army: this, however, had no effect on Miranda, who was found by Dumourier at Tirlemont, writing very compoſedly to his friends. The General commanded him immediately to collect his troops, and poſt them on the heights of Wommerſem, on the high-road, and on the bridges of Orſmael and Neerhelpen; for the purpoſe of ſecuring the paſſage of the Gette, and the retreat of the right and centre, now in the midſt of the enemy, with a river in their rear. Thus terminated the batle of Nerwinde, the ſucceſs of which was entirely defeated by the conduct of General Miranda; whoſe retreat was the more unfortunate as the two columns loſt upwards of 2000 men, while not more than 600 were loſt by the reſt of the army, after a ſevere conflict, in which the loſs of the enemy was more than 1400. About 3000 of the French troops were killed or taken, more than 1000 were wounded, and a great part of the artillery was loſt. Many errors were committed on both ſides in this engagement: the French did not attack the Tomb of Middlewinde, which was the centre of the action, with ſufficient vigour, and afterwards abandoned it without any apparent reaſon; after the firſt ſucceſs Neuilly hazarded the fortune of the day by quitting Nerwinde, on an order that he miſunderſtood; finally, the retreat of Miranda, after he had taken the village of Orſmael, turned the ſcale of the conteſt, by giving every appearance of flight to the French troops. The enemy, on their part, ſhould have diſputed the paſſage of the Gette; they ſhould have fallen on the three columns of our right, in front and flank, while they were marching to the attack, and expoſed to the fire of the villages of Laer, Nerwinde,

Middle-

Middlewinde, and Oberwinde; they committed a grand fault in abandoning the Tomb of Middlewinde, which was a very advantageous poſt, and upon which, previous to the action, they ought to have raiſed a battery; of the retreat of Miranda they ought alſo to have taken every advantage, by attacking his troops or falling upon the columns, which, by that ſhameful meaſure, he had left expoſed in the heat of the battle.

CHAP. VI.

Retreat of the French Army on the 19th of March—Battle of Gotzenhoven.

THE neceſſity of ſecuring his retreat was now apparent to General Dumourier, who paſſed the reſt of the night in giving orders for that purpoſe to the centre and the right wing, commanded by the Duc de Chartres, and who, through the whole of the battle, had diſplayed the moſt judicious and courageous behaviour. The enemy were not fully acquainted with the advantages they had acquired, and were ſo confuſed by the ſucceſs of the right wing and centre of the French that they neglected to purſue their advantages over the left wing. Seeing the French ſtill in order of battle, and ready to recommence the action, they ſuppoſed the left wing was about to return to its former poſition, and therefore did not, by any movements, impede the retreat of the army, which was effected in open day. The columns repaſſed the river with the ſame ſteadineſs and order in which they had advanced. General Thouvenot was ſent to the right to receive the columns, and arrange them in order of battle from Gotzenhoven to Hackendower, while

while Dumourier undertook to aſſemble the columns of the left wing, and place them on the heights of Wommerſem and at the bridge of Orſmael, of which the enemy's troops were already in poſſeſſion; to prevent their advancing further Dumourier ſent orders to General Dampierre to make a movement to the left and flank the cauſeway, maintaining that poſition till the centre ſhould repaſs the river, and afterwards to retreat ſlowly to the new poſition which the troops were taking, with their right at Gotzenhoven, their left at Hackendower, and the leſſer Gette in their front.

Theſe directions which were properly obſerved by General Dampierre prevented the deſtruction of the army; for the two fugitive columns, aſhamed of their conduct on the preceding day, were ſo ſcattered and confounded that it was ten in the morning before they could be formed in order to take poſt at Hackendower. The firſt column of the enemy having paſſed the bridge of Orſmael, had already formed with its artillery on the heights of Wommerſem; Dumourier could not, however, prevail on his troops to attack that poſt, though they were ſeverely galled by the artillery from thence, the fire of which they endured with much ſteady valour. The horſe of Dumourier was killed under him, by a cannon ball, and the General himſelf was near falling on this occaſion. The heavy fire of the enemy was endured with great intrepidity by thoſe troops who had fled the day before; this, however, was conſidered by Dumourier as an unſerviceable obſtinacy; he urged them to attack with their bayonets the enemy on the heights of Wommerſem, and put himſelf at their head for that purpoſe, but was unable to make them advance, tho' the danger of the ſituation in which they remained was infinitely greater than what they could experience by attacking the body

body of troops by which they were ſo annoyed, and which being ſeparated from the reſt of the Auſtrian army might have been eaſily vanquiſhed. The enemy's left wing ſeemed to be filled with a dread ſimilar to that of the French the day before, for they ſuffered the right and centre of the French to repaſs the river, and even to arrange themſelves in the poſition of Gotzenhoven before they could reſolve to attack them. Except the diſcharge of ſome cannon and muſquetry, the day paſſed in manœuvres on both ſides; at night the troops of the two armies reſted on their arms in order of battle, and very near each other.

The Auſtrians much admired the cool and ſteady manner in which Dumourier's army retreated, the troops not falling back more than three quarters of a league, and appearing to return in great order to the ground they occupied before the battle: but Dumourier, on the evening of the 19th, perceived by the temper of his troops, that he would be certainly defeated ſhould an engagement with the enemy take place. Under the old government of France a conſiderable attention was neceſſary to be paid to the temper and feelings of the ſoldiers of that country, and upon ſuch an attention their behaviour in battle greatly depended. The Revolution has increaſed the difficulty of managing the French troops, who have become more intractable and capricious; the active impetuoſity of their character is calculated to make them conquer, but not preſerve their acquiſitions; though their valour is not leſſened, their impatience is hurt by methodical and defenſive war; military diſcipline and ſubordination having been nearly deſtroyed ſince the Revolution. The French ſoldiers, when once their ſpirits are wearied, regardleſs of conſequences abandon their colours and deſert: a portion of military ſpirit ſtill in-

fluence

fluenced the troops of the line; the fear of diſgrace attached them to their colours, and they continued firm: on theſe Dumourier could rely, but the National Guards, who compoſed three parts of the army declared loudly, that they would not throw away their lives in Belgium, but go and defend the frontiers of France; in purſuance of this declaration they departed by whole companies and battalions, and it would have been both dangerous and ineffectual to have attempted forcibly to detain them. Dumourier had therefore no other expedient, but to retreat in as good order as poſſible, to conceal the defection of the troops. In this unfortunate predicament, the General during the night paſſed the greater Gette, and retired behind Tirlemont to the heights of Cumptich. The movements ordered by the General for this purpoſe were performed with a preciſion ſcarcely to be expected, and were attended with the greateſt ſucceſs; the fires that were carefully kept up deceived the enemy, who were alſo reſtrained by the firmneſs and vigour of the rear guard, and did not move till the 20th, when they reconnoitred Tirlemont. The French had time to draw all their baggage, ſtores, and artillery, from that place, except a ſingle cannon, which was loſt by the precipitate retreat of General Miaczinſky.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Retreat of the French on the 20th and 21ſt of March—Battle of Neerwelpe—Negotiation between Dumourier and Colonel Mack, relative to a Suſpenſion of Arms—Engagement between the French Army and the Auſtrians under General Clairfait.

THE poſition of Dumourier at Cumptich was advantageouſly elevated above the Gette; his front was facing Tirlemont, and his left was ſecured by the river Welpe; but his right, which was poſted behind Hougarde, was not equally defended. It was, however, not poſſible for him to maintain this poſition long; for it could not protect Louvain if the enemy ſhould paſs by Dieſt, nor Bruſſels if they ſhould turn by Judoigne; therefore, while the Auſtrians were before Tirlemont, on the 20th of March he paſſed the Welpe, and encamped near Bauterſem; he then diſpatched General Neuilly, with his diviſion, which was increaſed to 6000 men, towards Judoign, to watch the motions of the enemy on that ſide, ordering him to fall back to Bruſſels ſhould they appear with a ſuperior force. General Duval was directed to ſupply Neuilly with as many troops as could be ſpared from the garriſon of Bruſſels, and the new levies that ſhould arrive there; and alſo to arreſt the deſerters and ſend them to the army. General D'Harville was commanded to garriſon the citadel of Namur with 2500 men, and prepare to march with the reſt of his army, either towards Bruſſels or any other place which might be neceſſary, according to the motions of General Beaulieu, who was advancing by the route of Huy, with between 8 and 10,000 men.

Dumourier placed in Dieſt what he thought would be a ſufficient garriſon; but General Champmorin had not reported with accuracy the ſtrength of the place.

General Miaczinſky was poſted at the abbey of Gemps, to communicate with Dieſt. The garriſon of Malines was reinforced; and General Ruault was ſent to Antwerp, to the aſſiſtance of Lieut. General Maraſſé, and to command the army in that quarter, which amounted to upwards of 20,000 men. Dumourier recommended to General Ruault to keep the poſt of Liers as long as it was tenable; and if the Pruſſians and Dutch ſhould advance with greater force, to fall back within the lines of Antwerp. A detachment of the enemy, without artillery, and inferior in numbers to the garriſon of Dieſt, appeared on the ſame day (the 20th of March) before that place, and the garriſon fled to Malines in the moſt cowardly diſorder. The Auſtrians alſo attacked the villages of Op and Neerwelpe, but without ſucceſs. Dumourier was buſily employed in repulſing this attempt, when Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp as Commiſſioners from the National Convention: he requeſted them to go to Louvain, where he met them in the evening: they were extremely affected by the defeat of the army, and the deſertion of the troops: they urged, however, the purport of their commiſſion, which they ſaid was to prevail on the General to retract his letter of the 12th of March, and by which he had greatly excited the diſpleaſure of the Convention.

The General anſwered, that the letter in queſtion contained his unequivocal ſentiments; that he had repreſented the affairs of Belgium exactly according to truth, and that his proclamations to the people of the country were neceſſary to quiet their alarms, and procure the ſafety of his army,

army, which, ſpiritleſs and diſorganiſed after the victories of the Auſtrians, would otherwiſe have had its deſtruction completed, by the juſt reſentment of the injured Belgians. Though the Commiſſioners could not but acknowledge the truth of theſe remarks, they inſiſted that the General ſhould comply with their firſt requiſition: but Dumourier, after ſtating all his reaſons of complaint againſt the Convention, aſſured Danton and La Croix that his principles and opinions did not depend on gaining or loſing a battle, and that he would not retract any part of his letter. The Commiſſioners endeavoured, by every ſpecies of addreſs and perſuaſion, to change the reſolution of Dumourier; who, after a conference of much length, conſented to write a few lines to the Preſident of the Convention, deſiring "*that any judgment on his letter of the 12th of March would be poſtponed by the Convention, till he ſhould find an opportunity of ſending them an explanation of the reaſons why that letter was written.*" With this unimportant conceſſion the deputies departed.

The General was informed of the loſs of Dieſt on the 21ſt, and determined to place himſelf nearer Louvain, apprehending that the enemy might paſs the canal and interrupt his communication with Malines, or even attack Louvain: he therefore poſted the diviſion of General Champmorin on the heights of Pellenberg, flanking his left by that of General Miaczinſky, poſted at St. Peterſroede. General la Marche, with the advanced guard, was placed on the heights of Corbec, ſkirting the high road. General le Veneur, with eighteen battalions of the army of the Ardennes, was poſted on the heights and in the woods of Mezendael; and the diviſion of General Dampierre at Florival, to communicate with General Neuilly's diviſion, which fell back towards Tombeck. While the troops were

taking these positions, they were severely cannonaded by the enemy, who on the morning of the 22d made a general attack on the posts of Pellenberg, Corbec, and the woods of Mazendael. General le Veneur had taken possession of Blierbeck, which was between him and the enemy; and this village was entered by a column of Hungarian grenadiers: but Colonel Dumas, at the head of the regiment of Auvergne, drove them out with great slaughter, and the loss of two pieces of cannon. The attack on the post of Pellenberg was very bloody: it was defended with great courage and ability by General Champmorin, who was strongly reinforced during the attack. The enemy were unable to make any impression on his lines, and after a severe conflict of a whole day were compelled to retire with considerable loss. On the preceding evening General Dumourier sent Colonel Mountjoye to the Prince of Cobourg's head-quarters, to treat about the wounded and prisoners. Colonel Mack, an officer in the Austrian service of extraordinary merit, was present, and observed to Colonel Mountjoy that a suspension of arms might probably be to the advantage of both armies. Dumourier had attentively considered, and was fully aware how dangerously his army was situated; he therefore, on the 22d, sent Colonel Mountjoye again to Colonel Mack, to ask if he would come to Louvain, and repeat the proposal to Dumourier. Colonel Mack arrived in the evening, and a verbal agreement was concluded of the following articles; first, that the Austrians should not again attack the French in great force, nor General Dumourier offer battle to them; secondly, that the French should retire slowly to Brussels, on the faith of this truce; and lastly, that after Brussels was evacuated, Colonel Mack and Dumourier should have another interview, to

settle

ſettle further articles of mutual convenience. This agreement increaſed in importance to Dumourier every hour; his army was greatly weakened in numbers, and he had not ſufficient ammunition for another engagement: he had alſo apprehenſions that the part of his army which remained would not ſtand firm; and this was evinced on the ſucceeding day, when General Clairfait (who was unacquainted with the ſtipulations between Colonel Mack and Dumourier) attacked the advanced guard and troops poſted at Pellenberg. General Champmorin defended himſelf with the ſame obſtinate valour as before, but near the cloſe of the action, when the enemy's infantry were retiring, and only a few light troops remained before the French army, a ſudden panic ſeized old General la Marche, and in ſpite of the intreaties of Mountjoye, and other intelligent officers, he fled with the greateſt precipitancy and confuſion, firſt to the abbey of Duparc, and then to the other ſide of the river Dyle, at the back of Louvain. Two thouſand men were loſt in theſe two actions by the Auſtrians, who were ſo diſpirited that they did not take advantage of this retreat, though it left a dangerous interval between the Generals, le Veneur and Champmorin. The former through the whole engagement had fought with much intrepidity; perceiving himſelf abandoned by General La Marche, paſſed the Dyle alſo without orders, and took poſt between Coorbeeck and Heverle. On account of the retreat of theſe two diviſions, Dumourier was under the neceſſity of ordering General Champmorin to abandon Pellenberg, and retreat behind Louvain. General Miaczinſky retired by a bridge on the high road of Dieſt, and was protected by a battery of cannon planted on the heights. Dumourier now took the opportunity of removing his wounded, and the flower of

his

his army, in boats to Malines. Louvain was entered by the enemy that very evening, while Dumourier retired with the garrison as his rear guard. Some boats, carrying wounded French soldiers, were taken. The Austrians treated these unfortunate troops with tenderness and humanity; though the Jacobins have propagated reports of a most calumnious and horrid nature on the subject, for the purpose of instigating the French soldiers to give no quarter, and behave in fighting with a savage fury disgraceful even to war itself.

The retreat from Louvain will, among other instances, prove the dangerous and aukward situation of a French general, since the Revolution: having fixed his plan of attack or defence, and given order for its execution, defeat and ruin will ensue, if he has not other plans in reserve, to make amends for the ill performance or disobedience of his orders. The generals under his command are frequently the first to disobey, or begin a cowardly flight: he cannot depend for an instant on the real strength of a corps that is out of his view, both officers and men taking the liberty to desert or change their position at pleasure: if he reprove the faults of other generals, he immediately creates himself implacable enemies, who will take every opportunity to traduce his measures and intentions; and he will always fear to attempt the important movements upon which war depends, with soldiers, who, though desperately brave, are unprovided with good officers, ill armed, without experience, accustomed to dispute orders, and altogether destitute of military subordination: but if success attend a general under these discouraging circumstances, he will be calumniated by the infamous clubs and jacobinical retainers of the metropolis; if, on the contrary, his career is unfortunate, he

is

is compelled to bear all the weight of reſponſibility, and his want of ſucceſs is attributed to cowardice or treachery. This is the terrible ſituation in which France places her generals during a war, in which the very political exiſtence of the country is concerned. Dumourier has been ſucceeded by Dampierre; the latter has fortunately met with death in battle. Cuſtine, after taking the place of Dampierre, has experienced on a ſcaffold the gratitude of the Convention. Houchard has been arreſted and diſgraced, immediately after raiſing the ſiege of Dunkirk; and the infamous Jourdan * now commands the armies of France. Theſe crimes and follies have been multiplied on the frontiers and in the interior of the Republic: every officer of worth has been compelled to quit the ſervice, while phyſicians, painters, and poſtillions, have been promoted to military rank.—Rulers of France, your degeneracy is equal to your cruelty: you adopt every meaſure that can diſgrace, diſtract, and deſtroy the unhappy country that permits your domination!

* General Jourdan is a young man, and according to report was bred to the trade of a Haberdaſher. Dumourier has here miſtaken him for a perſon of the ſame name at Avignon, and notorious for committing the moſt horrid aſſaſſinations.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Dumourier retreats to Bruſſels, and afterwards evacuates that City—Holds a Conference with Colonel Mack, at Ath—General Miranda arreſted and ſent to Paris, by order of the Convention.

THE retreat from Louvain completed the diſorder of the French army, and if night had not concealed its weakneſs and defections from the enemy, little regard would probably have been paid to the agreement between Dumourier and Colonel Mack. After the General had, with great difficulty, got the troops to halt on the heights of Coztenbergue, on the road to Bruſſels he made a new diſpoſition of the corps under his command. He ſent orders to General Duval to prepare for the evacuation of Bruſſels. General De la Marche was removed from the command of the advanced guard, which was given to General Vouille. Dumourier formed this advanced guard, which was now become the rear guard, of a ſtrong body of the artillery, all the cavalry, and twenty-five battalions, nearly all troops of the line. The General himſelf took poſt in this choſen body, which amounted to 15,000 men, and behaved with great firmneſs and propriety, while the reſt of the army marched under its protection. General Dumourier fixed his camp under the walls of Bruſſels; his park of artillery had before been tranſported to Anderlecht, he now directed it to be ſent off to Tournay, reſerving only what was neceſſarvſ or his rear guard.

The miſerable ſtate of the French troops was unknown to the Prince of Cobourg, who was doubtleſs glad to obtain poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, without more bloodſhed

by

by this ſuſpenſion of arms. Dumourier was unable to keep the country, which any reſiſtance on his part would only have waſted; for ſince the demolition of the fortifications in the Belgic Provinces, by Joſeph the Second, they have no point at which an invading army can be reſiſted, and ſixty leagues of country may be gained or loſt by a ſingle battle. The Prince of Cobourg punctually obſerved the ſtipulations to which Colonel Mack had agreed, by remaining three days at Louvain, and ſending only ſmall detachments to hang upon the rear of the French army. Dumourier therefore took the opportunity of providing for the ſafety of Bruſſels, and the other great cities through which his retreat neceſſarily lay. The Belgians had forgiven the inſults and oppreſſions of the French, in conſequence of Dumourier's conciliatory meaſures: they had even rendered new ſervices to his army, it was therefore a ſolemn duty to preſerve them from pillage, and every cauſe of complaint or irritation. The army paſſed through Bruſſels on the 25th, with great decorum and propriety; no diſorders or pillage were committed by the ſoldiers, nor did any mutual reproaches take place between them and the inhabitants: the latter have publicly and amply acknowledged the endeavours of Dumourier on that occaſion; for his own part, he reflects on the avowal of their ſentiments,*

* The Belgians will always think of Dumourier with eſteem and affection: it was in attempting to ſave them from the tyrannic decree of the 15th of December, that he became the victim of calumny. The Editor ventures to promiſe in the name of his countrymen, that they will never forget the kind and reſolute efforts of Dumourier in their ſervice.——*Note by the Editor.*

with feelings of the moſt lively pleaſure, and wiſhes that in every other place his motives and his conduct had experienced a conſtruction equally juſt.

It was now Dumourier's wiſh to plan ſuch movements as might enſure the ſafety of the different bodies of detached troops. General Beaulieu, with about eight thouſand men, was penetrating by Huy, and at the ſame time Prince Hohenloe advanced by Luxembourg againſt Namur, which was garriſoned by 15000 men, under General D'Harville; this diviſion had, however, been encreaſed from the garriſons of Givet and Maubeuge; and Prince Hohenloe, by taking one of thoſe places, might have penetrated into France. General D'Harville was ordered by Dumourier to leave 2500 men, with proviſions, in the citadel of Namur, and after dividing the reſt of his troops into two columns, to diſpatch one to Givet under the command of Lieutenant General Bouchet, and to retire with the other towards Maubeuge, halting firſt at Charleroy, and then taking poſt on the heights of Nimy, above Mons, covering by this poſition, Maubeuge, la Queſnoy, Condé and Valenciennes. Dumourier was, in anſwer to theſe inſtructions, informed by D'Harville, that he had neither proviſions, money, nor military ſtores to provide the citadel for fifteen days, and that he muſt either abandon or defend it with the whole of his diviſion. Letters to the ſame purpoſe from General Bouchet came with theſe diſpatches, which were alſo accompanied by auxiliary documents from Commiſſary Barneville; Dumourier therefore ordered General D'Harville to abandon Namur, and retire to Givet and Maubeuge, the protection of theſe places being of the greateſt importance: the ſix battalions poſted in Breda, and the three in Gertruydenberg, were by Dumourier conſidered as loſt, though he

he knew, that having plenty of proviſions and ammunition they might ſtop the progreſs of the Pruſſians and Dutch for ſome time; he therefore ordered General Berneron, with 2000 men, and ſix months proviſions, to occupy the citadel of Antwerp, that a communication might be open with that diviſion of his army. Lieutenant General Omoran was appointed to command at Dunkirk, and along the ſea coaſt of the northern department; he was ordered by Dumourier to repair the lines and forts of the entrenched camp between Dunkirk and Bergues, to form an entrenched camp on Mont-Caſſel, to take upon him, at Courtray, the command of the army which had been employed by Dumourier in Holland, and poſt it in the camp of Haerlebecke.

Dumourier diſpatched orders to Generals Maraſſé and Ruault to make their retreat to the camp of Courtray or Haerlebecke, while the garriſon of Malines ſhould retire to the ſame place, by Dendermonde, It was Dumourier's intention if he could have held the citadels of Antwerp and Namur, to have formed a ſtrong line without the French territories, running from the right to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda and Gertruydenberg; this ſituation, had the truce continued, he hoped would enable him to have ſome influence in re-eſtabliſhing order among his countrymen; and, on the contrary, ſhould the ſuſpenſion of arms be broken, the enemy, finding themſelves in the center of a ſemicircle, would be compelled, as a matter of ſafety, to commence their attack at the two extremities, and this would have occaſioned them to carry on a war of ſieges at the expence of their own territory; by this means alſo, Dumourier would have had time to reorganize and ſtrengthen his army, which would have had behind it the beſt fortreſſes of France.

The evacuation of the citadel of Namur had caufed a fmall derangement of the General's plan; ftill, however, purfuing it, he marched on the 26th to Enghien, and on the 27th to Ath, while General Neuilly's divifion marched to Mons, by Hall, and Braine. While at Ath, Dumourier received orders to arreft General Miranda, and alfo a colonel of the 73d regiment of infantry, who at the head of his two battalions had abandoned the army without orders. Dumourier regretted the order to arreft General Miranda, becaufe he was perfuaded the meafure did not fpring from the fource of juftice, but from the hatred of the Jacobins againft Pethion, and the party of Gironde, by whom Miranda was protected and patronifed; it was, however, extremely favourable for Miranda that he efcaped by accufing General Dumourier. Colonel Mack came to Ath the fame day, and began a conference with Dumourier, by acknowledging the orderly manner in which the French troops had retreated, and complimenting the prudence with which the general had kept the tranquillity of the country inviolate; he alfo alluded to the underftanding between their refpective generals. In verbal, but more formal articles than before, it was agreed between Colonel Mack and the general, that the French army fhould continue a little longer in the pofition of Mons, Tournay and Courtray, without being haraffed by that of the Auftrians. Prince of Cobourg's conduct, who, while he prevented the French troops from being haraffed in their retreat, took care at the fame time, to conceal from both armies, the Colonel Mack was acquainted with Dumourier's intentions of marching to Paris, and it was therefore agreed, that when the plan was to take place, General Dumourier fhould order

order the motions of the Imperial troops, who were to act only as auxiliaries, and not to advance further than the French frontier, if Dumourier (a very desirable circumstance) should have no occasion for their co-operation; on the other hand, in case of the general's inability to re-establish the constitutional and limited monarchy, he was to point out the sort and number of Austrian troops necessary for his purpose, which were to be supplied on his requisition, and entirely under his command: on these conditions the Belgic provinces were to be totally evacuated by Dumourier and his army. In order to unite the operations of the troops under the Prince of Cobourg, and those under the Prince of Hohenloe, while Dumourier should march to Paris, it was finally settled that Condé should be put as a kind of pledge into the hands of the Austrians, who were to garrison the town, on condition of restoring it to France at the end of the war; and also, that if the constitutional party should need assistance, the other towns of France were to receive garrisons, half French and half Austrians, and to be under the command of the French officers. At this conference General Thouvenot, the Duc de Chartres, General Valence, and Colonel Mountjoye were present.

CHAP. X.

General Dumourier arrives at Tournay—meets with Mademoiselle D'Orleans—Interview of the General with three Jacobin Emissaries.

DUMOURIER marched to Tournay on the 28th, posting himself in the position of Antoing, his advanced guard being in Tournay, and the corps of the left

on

on Mount Trinity, under the command of General Miaczinſky. General le Veneur was ſent to occupy the camp of Maulde with the army of the Ardennes. Madame de Sillery was at Tournay with Mademoiſelle D'Orleans, whom the general had never ſeen before: theſe ladies reſided at Tournay in conſequence of the advice given by Dumourier to Lieutenant General Omoran, who was there in command. Mademoiſelle D'Orleans being (though no more than fifteen years of age) included in the proſcriptive decree againſt the emigrants, the greateſt propriety and reſignation of behaviour diſtinguiſhed this young princeſs, who was equally well bred and accompliſhed with her brothers, the Duc de Chartres and the Duc de Montpenſier. In the preceding campaign, the Duc de Chartres had diſplayed the moſt exalted bravery and patriotiſm; he was, notwithſtanding, included in the cruel and vexatious decree of baniſhment paſſed againſt the houſe of Bourbon by the Convention. During the very ſhort time that Dumourier ſtopped at Tournay, he took every opportunity of teſtifying the ſympathy with which he felt for the ſituation of Mademoiſelle D'Orleans: afraid of the influence they ſuppoſed the emigrants to have with the emperor, both ſhe and Madam de Sillery were afraid of falling into the hands of the Auſtrians; Dumourier therefore cauſed them to be conducted to St. Amand, and afterwards, when his protection might have proved more dangerous than ſerviceable, thoſe ladies retired to Mons, the Auſtrian generals having offered them that aſylum. May the virtues and accompliſhments of the amiable Mademoiſelle D'Orleans be always regarded by Providence with a peculiar care! Intelligence was received by Dumourier, while in the camp of Tournay, that the diviſion of General Neuilly, when it arrived at Mons, had, inſtead of taking poſt on the heights

heights of Nimy, pillaged the magazines, and fled to Condé and Valenciennes in a moſt diſorderly manner; the enemy, however, neither attacking nor purſuing them. Only the cavalry remained with General Neuilly, with which Dumourier ordered him to retreat to Condé. Dumourier's poſt at Tournay was rendered extremely dangerous by the evacuation of Mons, his right being quite unprotected; he was, however, unwilling to begin his retreat (which, omitting the ſuſpenſion of arms, would have been eaſy by his acquaintance with the country) till he ſhould be informed of the movements made on his left; he therefore took merely the precaution of ordering General D'Harville to keep cloſe within the camp of Maubeuge and Givet, to hinder the enemy from penetrating on that ſide into the French territory.

Three deputies from the Jacobins arrived at Tournay on the 29th of March, and introduced themſelves to the General by a pretended commiſſion from Le Brun: they preſented the General with a vague and ambiguous letter from that miniſter, and ſtated that their object was to communicate with the General about the Belgic provinces. Theſe three emiſſaries were of very indifferent character: the one Proly, a native of Bruſſels, and a deſpicable adventurer; another named Desjardines, a paltry and impertinent ſcribbler; the third, Peréira, a Portugueſe Jew. Proly has been already mentioned in the courſe of theſe Memoirs; Desjardines gave himſelf the title of a man of letters; and Peréira was a Jacobin of the moſt furious deſcription. They came to the apartments of Mademoiſelle D'Orleans, for the purpoſe of venting their ſpleen againſt the General, and took much offence becauſe he would not there converſe with them on the topic of their errand.

Theſe

These men, in a conversation with Dumourier, who had appointed to meet them at his quarters, agreed with him on the necessity of dissolving the National Convention, and appointing some other legislative body in its room. The General was then sounded with respect to the persons who were to exercise the authority of the Convention: one went so far as to say, that the Jacobin Club, having a president, register, tribunes, and orators, and being also habituated to discuss great political questions, would be fully adequate to the task of succeeding the Convention. Dumourier sincerely and decisively spurned this idea; he strongly insisted on the cruelty, the turbulence, and the immorality of the Jacobins; attributing to their conduct every misfortune that had distracted France. In answer to this it was observed by Proly: "*How will it be possible by any other means to replace the representatives of the people, and avoid, at the same time, the delay and other disagreeable circumstances, with which the mode of election by Primary Assemblies is attended?*" Dumourier then replied, "*There is nothing more simply or easily to be accomplished: the administrators of the departments and districts are well tried and approved patriots; for this time, therefore, all the procureurs-general of the departments and districts may be taken, and the proper legislative number completed from the members of the departments and districts: these will form a very competent body of legislators; they will establish the Constitution of* 1789; *all divisions in France will be cemented; the Royalists will lay down their arms; foreign powers will no longer have a pretence for carrying on the war, and will doubtless readily listen to terms of peace, when France shall have a Government sufficiently solid to be treated with. For do not imagine,*" added the General, "*that the Republic can last—no,*

the

the crimes, the blunders, and the corruptions of pretended patriotiſm have deſtroyed the poſſibility of its exiſtence."

Some objections were made to the General's remarks; but Desjardines, who diſcovered more addreſs and artifice than the others, obſerved he ſhould go to Paris and render an account of his embaſſy, hoping ſoon to ſee Dumourier again. They then took their leave of Dumourier, who permitted them to go without any hindrance, not thinking it worth while to arreſt characters of ſuch trifling importance. There is, however, no doubt but that Dumourier might have gained entirely the confidence and the patronage of the Jacobins, had he been agreeable to the idea of their exerciſing the legiſlative functions; and it is, indeed, likely that in this inſtance the ſincerity of his temper prevented the advantages that might have ariſen from his appearing to ſecond their wiſhes. The General received on the ſame day a letter from the ſeven commiſſioners of the Convention, met at Liſle, and who commanded him to appear there before them and defend himſelf againſt certain accuſations with which he was charged. Dumourier anſwered, that the enemy was in ſight, and that he was importantly employed in arranging and re-animating his army, which he could not leave for a moment; but if the commiſſioners would come to him at Tournay, he would give them every ſatisfaction in his power; and that, for his own part, he was determined not to enter Liſle but for the purpoſe of puniſhing the daſtards who had abandoned their colours and the army, and who had baſely endeavoured to excuſe themſelves by calumniating the principled and the valiant defenders of France.

CHAP. XI.

The French army retreats to the camp of Maulde—Six Jacobin Volunteers attempt to assassinate Dumourier—General Miaczinsky arrested, carried to Paris and beheaded—Execution of Colonel Philip De Vaux.

AN uncertainty of the fate of the troops at Antwerp, created great uneasiness in the mind of General Dumourier, who apprehended that General Ruault had been taken prisoner, while bearing his orders to General Marassé: it was very tedious and difficult to retreat from Antwerp across the Scheldt, and by the extremity of Flanders: it was however known to Dumourier, that the troops at Antwerp out-numbered the enemy in that quarter. Gertruydenberg and Breda were invested by the Prussians and Dutch, while Colonel Mylius had the boldness to present himself before Antwerp, and to summon that city, though he commanded no more than 2000 irregular imperial troops. Dismay and disorder pervaded the part of the French army that were at Antwerp: those who had passed the Scheldt, instead of waiting for the rest, fled to Bruges and Dunkirk, except a small body which halted at Ghent with Colonel Thouvenot. A council of war had been held at Antwerp on the approach of Colonel Mylius, and the retreat of the army there in garrison, with the magazines and effects, was unanimously resolved on.

Though circumstances have prevented General Dumourier from forming an accurate judgment concerning the surrender of Antwerp; and though the panic of the troops, and the apprehension of a very large force marching against the place, may excuse in a degree the decision of the officers; yet

yet it was an unpardonable fault to ſurrender the citadel, which, if given up at all, ought to have formed an article of capitulation diſtinct from the city. The French troops left Antwerp on the 28th of March, and entered the territories of France in ſmall bodies, being afterwards partly diſpoſed by General Omoran in the camp of Caſſel, the lines of Dunkirk, and the camp of Madelaine in the neighbourhood of Liſle. No advice was received by Dumourier of the diſperſion of this important body of troops (amounting to 20,000 men) till the 29th, and no detail of particulars then accompanied the intelligence. By the evacuation of Mons, and the diſperſion of General Neuilly's diviſion, the right of Dumourier had been expoſed; his left was now in ſtill greater danger, and nothing leſs than a complete rout was to be expected, ſhould he retreat from the enemy in the preſent ſtate of his troops.

By theſe conſiderations, he was induced to raiſe the camp of Tournay on the 30th, having previouſly ordered that of Maulde to be occupied by General le Veneur. The army of the North was directed to encamp in the ſtrong poſition of Bruille, and Dumourier ſent General Miaczinſky to occupy Orchies, with 4000 men, thereby ſecuring a communication with Liſle; and fixed his head-quarters at St. Amand, where the artillery was collected. All communication between the army, and the garriſons of Breda and Gertrydenberg, was interrupted by the capture of Antwerp. The amount of the troops, in thoſe places, was 6000 men. One half of the army having deſerted, it was extremely important to preſerve theſe garriſons; and Dumourier, therefore, ſent orders to General De Flers and Colonel Tilly to capitulate, on condition of the troops marching, with their arms and baggage, to France. The ſuſpenſion of arms, at

this period, ſaved the frontier towns of France, which in the weakneſs and diſorders of the army, might doubtleſs have been eaſily taken by the Auſtrian troops. Notwithſtanding this ſeries of unfortunate circumſtances, and the conflict of political opinions, the French ſoldiers diſcovered an attachment to Dumourier, and were ſenſible of his unremitted endeavours to preſerve the army; and this affection to the general was chiefly viſible among the troops of the line, who knew how to appreciate military merit, and the activity of duty, and who were moved with extreme reſentment at the calumnies with which the Jacobins loaded Dumourier; they wiſhed, like their General, for a limited monarchy; and the turbulent ſpirit of diſaffection was only to be diſcovered in a few battalions of national volunteers. The artillery openly declared in favour of Dumourier, and it was propoſed, without concealment, to march to Paris, and terminate that anarchy, which not only diſtracted the interior of France, but had occaſioned all the diſtreſſes of the army. It was remarked, by Dumourier, that the greater part of the generals in the army manifeſted a concurrence with theſe ſentiments. There were ſome, however, who intrigued with the Jacobins, and both encouraged and diſſeminated the infernal principles of that ſociety among the troops. General Dampierre was one of this deſcription, and purſued that conduct, with a view of obtaining the ſuperior command.

Matters were now haſtening to a deciſion. Lequinio, Cochon, and Bellegarde, three Commiſſioners of the Convention, were at Valenciennes: they treated both Dumourier and his army as rebels; ſtopped all ſupplies of money and proviſions, and even iſſued an abuſive manifeſto againſt the General. General Neuilly, who commanded in Condé, was

was avowedly attached to Dumourier; and the troops in that place, amounting to four battalions and a regiment of cavalry, discovered a similar inclination. The contest was still more violent at Lisle, for the National Commissioners had made it their point of meeting; and the populace, who were exceedingly numerous, were prompted by the members of the Jacobin Club to domineer over the richer and more peaceably disposed inhabitants. The troops of the line, influenced by a sincere attachment to Dumourier, had openly murmured at the treatment of their general; but being without leaders, they were incapable of forming an efficacious plan under these disagreeable circumstances, and every opportunity of corrupting them, by the distribution of assignats, was eagerly taken by the violent party.

Unaccustomed to be scrupulous in their measures, the persecutors of Dumourier resolved, if possible, to have him assassinated. Six volunteers of the third battalion of La Marne, on the 31st of March, demanded permission to address the General: they were introduced, and entered with their hats on, the back part forwards, on which the word *Republic* was chalked. After making a long and violent speech to the General, they concluded by observing, that they, and many more of the soldiers, had determined to bring Dumourier to the bar of the Convention, or be the instruments of his death. The General composedly answered, that their expressions were the result of an injudicious zeal; that the state of France was very unfortunate, and that the Republic could not continue to exist, in the midst of violence and crimes. While he was thus speaking, the volunteers approached, with an apparent design to surround him; which they would most probably have done, but the foremost was seized by the vigilant and faithful

Baptiste,

Baptiſte, who called in the General's guard. Reſiſtance was attempted on the part of the volunteers, but in vain. The General, however, prevented them from being killed, or even ill treated, only ſecuring their perſons by impriſonment. This event excited univerſal indignation in the army, and various addreſſes were ſigned and ſent to the General, expreſſive of the attachment of the troops to his perſon, and of their deſire to co-operate with him in reſtoring the conſtitution. After this declaration of the troops, and as hoſtilities were begun by the Commiſſioners of the Convention, Dumourier conſidered of the means by which he might get Condé, Liſle, and Valenciennes, into his hands, not being otherwiſe capable of effecting any important operation.

It was propoſed to Dumourier to aſſemble the troops of the line together, that by their aſſiſtance the national volunteers might be diſarmed and diſbanded. This was a ſcheme that might have greatly forwarded the views of the General, but he dreaded the blood that might be ſpilt in the attempt, as a bitter animoſity had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the troops of the line and the volunteers; there were alſo many battalions of the latter who had expreſſed a regard for the General; theſe he was unwilling to expoſe to diſgrace or death; and any exceptions in the execution of the plan would, for ſeveral reaſons, have been highly dangerous.

No example is preſented in hiſtory of any cauſe from which the human paſſions have experienced an agitation ſimilar to that of the Revolution in France. The gradations from deſpotiſm to limited monarchy, from the latter to republicaniſm, and from that to anarchy, have been remarkably rapid. The ſocial feelings have been all ſwallowed up in this political whirlpool; and, at the preſent period, the name of freedom is proſtituted to the moſt op-

preſſive purpoſes, and a barbarous ferocity uſurps the honourable name of national courage!

The meaſures of Dumourier for reſtoring order to his unhappy country would have been attended with more ſucceſs, had he obſerved an equal indelicacy in the choice of means with his enemies the Jacobins: they were accuſtomed to corruption and crimes; to oppoſe them with ſucceſs, ſtill greater degrees of enormity were neceſſary, and it became impoſſible for Dumourier to ſave France without uſing expedients which it is now his greateſt pleaſure to reflect that he never adopted. Orders were ſent by Dumourier to General Miaczinſky, that he ſhould march his diviſion to Liſle, and arreſt the commiſſioners and the leading demagogues among the Jacobins in that city; that he ſhould then proceed to Douay, and take the command of that place from General Moreton; proclaiming there and at Liſle that the army was determined to reſtore the conſtitution of 1789: he was then to proceed by Cambray, and poſt himſelf at Peronne. Miaczinſky imprudently and unfortunately communicated his inſtructions to ſeveral perſons, and particularly to St. George, the celebrated mulatto who commanded a regiment of huſſars in the French ſervice, and by whom he was decoyed with a very ſmall eſcort into Liſle. The gates were ſhut the inſtant Miaczinſky entered the town: he was afterwards conducted to Paris, and periſhed by the guillotine. This general was a Pole by birth, and one of the chiefs of the confederation at the time of the firſt partition of that country, when Dumourier was ſent by the French government to act on behalf of the confederates. During an engagement with the Ruſſians, Miaczinſky was taken priſoner: he claimed an indemnity from France, and Dumourier, as ſome compenſation, procured him the rank of major-general,

general, and he afterwards ſerved with great credit in the French armies. Though courageous in battle, Miaczinſky did not meet death on the ſcaffold with equal fortitude: flattered with hopes of life, he was induced to gratify the enemies of Dumourier, by making the moſt groſs accuſations againſt the General: but even this conduct could not ſave him, for he had alſo inculpated La Croix, one of the heads of a party who have always endeavoured to conceal their crimes by murdering their accuſers.

The garriſon of Liſle refuſed to admit the troops of General Miaczinſky, they therefore wandered on the glacis of the town; this circumſtance being known to Dumourier, he ſent Colonel Philip De Vaux to conduct them to Orchies or Douay. Through the treachery of a fellow officer, De Vaux was arreſted, conveyed to Paris, and ſuffered death: this accompliſhed officer was a native of Bruſſels, but had taken part againſt the emperor in the diſturbances of the Netherlands. Dumourier having been acquainted with him at Paris, made him his aid-de-camp: he poſſeſſed ſuperior courage and capacity, a generous and exalted mind, combining every quality neceſſary in a great commander; his character was not ſullied by his death, in which he afforded a ſtriking example of calmneſs and intrepidity. Major General Ferrand commanded in Valenciennes: he owed his promotion to Dumourier, who had firſt given him the rank of colonel, and afterwards that of major-general; this officer, who had advanced to an age not much likely to be diſturbed by the ebullitions of opinion, had apparently a ſtrong attachment to Dumourier; but, among other extraordinary inſtances produced by the infernal magick of the revolution, he became afterwards a confidant of the Jacobins, and a violent enemy to the general. L'Ecuyer, the grand

grand provoſt of the army, had earneſtly deſired Dumourier to intruſt him with the taſk of arreſting the commiſſioners at Valenciennes, but as ſoon as he arrived there, became their creature, and communicated to them all he knew: a circumſtance, ſingularly accidental, led to his execution. While at Valenciennes he had carried his duplicity ſo far as to write Dumourier a minute account of the meaſures he intended to adopt in purſuance of his orders; this letter was found in the pocket of his great coat, on the fourth of April, and its contents proved fatal.

By the defection of theſe two officers from the plan of Dumourier, he was prevented from making the important acquiſition of Valenciennes, and had no reſource left but an endeavour to get Condé into his poſſeſſion. The army depended for ſubſiſtence entirely on the ſtrong frontier towns, and unleſs one of theſe at leaſt could be obtained, it was neceſſary to diſband the troops or join the Auſtrians: a compleat triumph, on the part of the anarchiſts, would have been occaſioned by the firſt of theſe meaſures, and the feelings of the general would not permit him to adopt the other; as a principle of national honour animated both Dumourier and the troops of the line.

Dumourier had neither artillery nor inclination to undertake a ſiege: he was unwilling that Frenchmen ſhould engage againſt each other, and ultimately become the prey of the foreign ſpectators of the conteſt. The ſituation of the general became every day more critical; the expedient of marching to Paris depended on a majority in his favour, which, by the intrigues of the Jacobins, was rendered now very uncertain. His hopes diminiſhed every hour, and though he then ſaw his difficulties, without ſuffering them to vanquiſh him, at this time the greateſt horror accompanies his recollection of the five firſt days of the month of April.

CHAP. XII.

Plan of General Dumourier to liberate the Royal Family of France—Bournonville the Minister of War, and four Commissioners, arrive at Dumourier's Quarters—They attempt to suspend the General, who causes them to be arrested and sent to Tournay.

A Scheme had been proposed to General Dumourier for the surprisal of Valenciennes; to favour this project (which afterwards failed by the misconduct of a principal officer) on the first of April the general removed his head quarters to St. Amand, which was nearer his army and also to Condé. By neglecting to proceed in the first instance to this city, the general committed a great oversight, and, perhaps, might impute the derangement of his whole measures to this circumstance; he was, however, so busily engaged in attending to the disposition of his army as to be entirely unacquainted with the inimical events that had taken place at Lisle and Valenciennes.

This neglect of the General in not fixing his quarters at Condé afforded the Jacobins an opportunity of contaminating the minds of the soldiers in that town; they filled it with their emissaries, issued proclamations, and distributed assignats among the troops. The 6th regiment of infantry of the line, and the Versailles battalion of national guards, were furiously attached to the Jacobinical doctrines; they domineered in the town, and General Neuilly, who was there in command, was deceived in believing himself master of the place: unfortunately his representations to Dumourier occasioned the latter to be subject to the same deception. In the Versailles battalion there was a captain of artillery, named

named Le Cointre, ſon to the deputy of that name, ſo celebrated in the Convention. This young man, having loudly declaimed againſt the conſtitution and its ſupporters, was roughly treated by ſome officers of the dragoons, and left the garriſon to complain of this conduct to Dumourier: being ſon to one of the moſt furious members of the party of the *Mountain*, the General thought he would be a fit hoſtage, and ordered him to be arreſted; and alſo a lieutenant-colonel of the ſtaff, who had made Dumourier the ſubject of his invectives. Theſe, together with the ſix volunteers, who had attempted to aſſaſſinate the General, were ſent to Tournay, with a requeſt to General Clairfait, that he would keep them confined in the citadel as hoſtages. When La Fayette quitted the army, Lieutenant-General Le Veneur left it at the ſame time, but was pardoned and reſtored to his rank by the influence of Dumourier: this officer now came to the General, and requeſted leave to retire from the army; his pretence was bad health, but his real object was to make terms with the anarchiſts. Dumourier, however, permitted him to go: the ſame liberty was alſo granted to Major-General Stetenhoffen, who had obtained his promotion from Dumourier. General Dampierre, with his diviſion, was at Queſnoy, and carried on a treaty with the national commiſſioners. This example was followed by Generals Chancel, Roſieres, and Kermorvan. Theſe inſtances of treachery penetrated the ſoul of Dumourier with grief, as they happened among officers who owed their rank to his patronage, and who, in appearance, had diſcovered equal eagerneſs with himſelf to reſtore the conſtitutional monarchy. Dampierre has been killed in battle, and the reſt have ſuffered for their

perfidy, having been all disgraced or punished by the jealous suspicion of their employers.

Such a defection, among the superior officers, could not fail to operate, in the most pernicious manner, on the soldiery; and Dumourier now perceived, that, in the doubtful temper of his troops, it would be extremely dangerous to march to Paris. The General's timidity was increased by another circumstance—the situation of the royal family, imprisoned in the temple. Had Dumourier proceeded for Paris, fear and rage would doubtless have instigated the Jacobins to murder those helpless victims; and the mind of Dumourier would have been torn with unceasing remorse, for having suggested an expedient, by which so melancholy a catastrophe might have been produced.

To rescue, if possible, the royal prisoners, was Dumourier's chief consideration, and in which he was assisted by the advice of General Valence. The Duc de Chartres, General Thouvenot, Colonel Mountjoye, and Colonel Nordmann, of the regiment of Berchiny: these two last mentioned officers he proposed should go to Paris with 300 hussars, under colour of arresting deserters. They were also to have had dispatches to the minister of war, which would have given their expedition an air of business. After proceeding covertly by the forest of Bondy, they were to reach the prison by the Boulevard of the Temple, force the guard, and carry off the royal family, placing each of them behind an hussar, and having a carriage ready in the forest, to push speedily forward to Pont St. Maxence, where they would be received by another body of cavalry posted for the purpose.

But this plan could not be facilitated, without the possession of Lisle or Valenciennes; it was, therefore, obliged

to

to be deferred, though the two worthy officers, Colonel Mountjoye and Colonel Nordmann, would willingly have embraced the enterprize. Various other unpropitious circumſtances increaſed the cruel neceſſity of abandoning the attempt of this reſcue, and the only remaining expedient was, to get as many hoſtages as poſſible, to reſtrain the ſanguinary violence of the Jacobins. With this view, General Dumourier had poſted a captain of chaſſeurs, at the head of fifteen reſolute and truſty men, on the road, between Liſle and Douay, for the purpoſe of arreſting couriers, and particularly the commiſſioners of the Convention, if they ſhould take the road from Liſle to Paris. On the morning of the 5th of April, Dumourier received intelligence from this officer, that Bournonville, who was paſſing on his road to Liſle, had informed him, that he ſhould afterwards proceed to the head quarters of his friend the General. Dumourier, who had received no advice from Bournonville concerning this journey, was ſeized with aſtoniſhment, as he had been already proſcribed, and had paſſed the line of heſitation in his conduct.

An important interview ſoon followed: early in the evening two couriers acquainted the General, that the miniſter of war, and four commiſſioners from the Convention, were approaching. The features of theſe couriers betrayed great conſternation; being interrogated by the ſome of the officers, they acknowledged the danger that threatened the General, who, they ſaid, was to be conducted, in conſequence of a decree, to the bar of the Convention; but that, in fact, he would never reach Paris, for aſſaſſins were placed on the road to murder him. Theſe aſſaſſins, they ſaid, belonged to the new-raiſed republican regiments of dragoons and huſſars: theſe troops had been treated with a juſt ſeverity

by

by Dumourier, becauſe they had diſgraced the cauſe, and the army of France, by their profligate, diſorderly, and cowardly behaviour.

The Miniſter of War ſhortly appeared, followed by four commiſſioners, whoſe names were Camus, La Marque, Bancal, and Quinette. Bournonville, after embracing his friend Dumourier, intimated that he and the commiſſioners were come to ſignify to the General a decree of the Convention.

General Valence was already preſent with Dumourier, and the reſt of the ſtaff officers now crowded into the apartment. Indignation was diſcovered in their countenances; they had ſhared the toils, the defeats, and the victories of Dumourier; they concurred alſo in his political opinions. The pureſt homage of grateful eſteem is due to the generous conſtancy of theſe officers, who could thus forego emolument and promotion, to partake the lot of their General. The conduct of General Valence ſhould be recorded with peculiar praiſe, for its magnanimity; he had been offered the command of the armies, on condition of arreſting Dumourier; this propoſal he not only rejected, with diſdain, but did not even communicate to the General the ſplendid bribe he had ſo nobly reſiſted.

Camus, who ſpoke for the reſt of the commiſſioners, requeſted that Dumourier would retire with them, and the war miniſter, to another room, as there was a decree of the Convention to be read, in which he was concerned. The General anſwered, that none of his actions had ever departed from publicity; that there could be no myſtery in the ſubject of a decree, paſſed by 700 perſons; and that, therefore, he ſaw no reaſon to accede to the requeſt, thinking it highly proper, that the officers, who were preſent, ſhould be

be witneſſes to the whole of the tranſaction. The requeſt, however, being again very reſpectfully urged by Bournonville, and the other commiſſioners, Dumourier at length retired with them to an inner apartment; but General Valence alſo entered with him, nor would the ſtaff officers permit the door to be ſhut. Camus then preſented the decree to Dumourier, who, having read it, very calmly obſerved, that though he ſhould forbear, within certain limits, to cenſure a decree of the Convention, he muſt conſider the preſent as containing a very untimely order, the troops being in ſuch a ſtate, that he could not leave them with propriety; and that, it would be adviſeable to ſuſpend the execution of the decree, till he ſhould have properly arranged his army, when he would give, with chearfulneſs, every account of his conduct. The General added, that, perceiving a power in the decree for the commiſſioners to ſuſpend him from his command, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to obey its purport, he ſuppoſed that their prudence was expected to be ſhewn in this embaſſy, as much as their firmneſs; that, therefore, he threw himſelf on their diſcretion, and, without refuſing obedience, merely required a delay; but that, if they were determined to ſuſpend him, he would at that moment reſign; a ſtep, which he had frequently deſired the leave of the Convention to take. Camus replied, that the commiſſioners could not receive the General's reſignation, having no authority for the purpoſe, and then obſerved, "*But how would you act, if your reſignation were accepted?*" "*As would become me,*" anſwered the General, "*but I do not heſitate to declare to you, that I will not go to Paris, to be ill treated by fanatical pretenders to patriotiſm; nor to be condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal.*" "*Then*" ſaid Camus, "*you do not acknowledge the authority*

of

of that Tribunal?" "*I recognize in it,*" replied the General, "*a tribunal of blood and of crimes, to which I will never ſubmit, while I have a ſword to defend myſelf; and I alſo declare, that if I had the power, I would aboliſh it, as a horrible diſgrace to a free country.*" The reſt of the Deputies were more moderate in their diſpoſitions than Camus; they uſed every endeavour to convince the General that the Convention had no animoſity againſt him; that by going to Paris, he would be able to refute the calumnies of thoſe who reproached him; and that they, and Bournonville, would remain with the army till his return. Quinette even offered to accompany the General to Paris, pledging himſelf for his perſonal ſecurity. The converſation was then carried on with more temper. Bancal, who was a man of education and talents, endeavoured to gain the acquieſcence of Dumourier, by alluding to many examples of obedience to the laws among eminent Grecian and Roman characters. "*It is time Sir,*" the General anſwered, "*to have done with miſtakes; it is time to forbear degrading the Roman hiſtory, and the Roman virtues, into apologies for our abominable crimes. Tarquin was not murdered by the Romans; their Republic had a firm government, and laws founded on experience and juſtice; there was neither a Jacobin club, nor a Revolutionary Tribunal among them. Anarchy now uſurps France: ſanguinary miſcreants eagerly demand my life, but I am not willing to yield it. You have ſought for examples among the Romans; permit me to tell you, that though I have often acted the part of Decius, I will never perform that of Curtius.*"

Dumourier was then aſſured by the deputies, that neither the Jacobins, nor the Revolutionary Tribunal, was to inveſtigate his conduct; that he was only to appear at the bar of the Convention, and that he much miſ-apprehended the ſtate of Paris. "*I paſſed the month of January at Paris,*" replied

replied the General, "*and ſurely it is not at this time more calm and reaſonable; your moſt authentic journals inform me, that the Convention is governed by Marat, the Jacobins, and the tumultuous emiſſaries of the latter, in the galleries and tribunes; the Convention, if ſo diſpoſed, would not have the power to ſave me from the fury of thoſe wretches; and, if I could ſo far conquer the reſpect I owe myſelf, as to appear before ſuch judges, my very deportment would provoke their condemnation.*" Camus again put the queſtion to Dumourier, "*You refuſe then to obey the decree of the National Convention?*" The General anſwered, that he had already explained his ſentiments. He entreated the commiſſioners to return to Valenciennes, and from thence to report to the Convention the General's arguments, and the impropriety of his leaving the army at this critical period; had they yielded to this requeſt, Dumourier believes he ſhould have been ſo imprudent as to have allowed them to depart. Except Camus, all of them appeared willing to liſten to the General's remonſtrances. One of them ſaid to Dumourier, "*Recollect that the ruin of the Republic will be occaſioned by your diſobedience.*" The General anſwered, "*It was declared by Cambon, in your tribune, and with the loudeſt applauſe, that one man could not determine the fate of the Republic; it is alſo to be obſerved, that we are not entitled to the name of Republicans, for our country is in a ſtate of the moſt deſperate anarchy. I ſolemnly ſwear, that I have no wiſh to elude enquiry; I promiſe you, on my honour, giving you as a ſoldier the moſt inviolable pledge, that when the nation ſhall have a government and laws, I will render a faithful account of my conduct; I will myſelf challenge the ſtrickeſt inveſtigation, but a ſurrender of my perſon now, would convict me of inſanity.*"

This conference laſted upwards of two hours, and the commiſſioners retired into another room, for the purpoſe

of consulting about their decision. Dumourier at that time suspected the designs and the friendship of Bournonville; but has since been informed, from the most respectable authority, that his suspicions were groundless: the repeated accusations of Marat against the Minister of War, is, indeed, an additional proof that he did not relax in his friendship to Dumourier.

When the commissioners had withdrawn, the General, after complaining that Bournonville had not prepared him, by any intelligence, for this important interview, requested him again to join the army, and take the command of the advanced guard. To this solicitation Bournonville answered, "*I know that I shall be sacrificed to my enemies: my situation is terrible; but I am determined to die at my post. I perceive you have decided on your conduct, and mean to adopt a desperate measure; let me intreat you that my fate may not be separated from that of the commissioners.*" "*Assuredly it shall not,*" replied the General, "*and I believe that permission will ultimately prove an essential favour.*" Dumourier, accompanied by Valence and Bournonville, returned to the officers, who had waited with impatience for the result of so long a conference. The General did not immediately acquaint them with the resolution he had taken; but has since learned from those officers, that if he had consented to go to Paris, it was their intention to prevent the journey by force. On the first arrival of the commissioners, the regiment of Berchiny was drawn up in the court-yard, and Dumourier had commanded Colonel Nordmann to select an officer and thirty men in whom he could place confidence, holding them in readiness to execute his orders. While the deputies had retired to deliberate, Dumourier met, in walking, Doctor Menuret, Surgeon to the Army,

and ſaid to him with an air of gaiety, "*Well Doctor, what remedy is to be applied to this wound?*" To which the other quickly anſwered, "*the ſame as laſt year in the camp at Maulde, a grain of diſobedience.*" The deputies returned in about an hour, when Camus, in a tone of agitation, ſaid to Dumourier harſhly, "*Citizen General, are you ready to go with us to Paris, in obedience to the decree of the National Convention?*" "*Not at this inſtant,*" was Dumourier's reply. "*Then,*" ſaid Camus, "*I ſuſpend you from the command of the armies; I forbid all perſons to obey you; and command every one to aſſiſt in your arreſtation: I will go myſelf and place the ſeals on your papers.*" Indignant murmurs were then heard. "*Tell me the names of thoſe perſons,*" ſaid Camus, angrily pointing to the officers around him. The General anſwered, "*That they will do themſelves.*" "*There is not ſufficient time,*" replied Camus in confuſion, "*I demand all your papers.*" Dumourier now perceived that the emotion of his officers had riſen to a criſis; and to prevent their being betrayed into raſhneſs, he reſolved to finiſh the converſation, ſaying, with a firm voice, "*It is time to put an end to ſuch intolerable inſolence.*" He then, in the German language, commanded the huſſars to enter, and ordered the officer to arreſt the four commiſſioners without any injury to their perſons, and alſo Bournonville, the Miniſter; but to leave the latter his arms. It was obſerved by Camus, "*General Dumourier, you are going to deſtroy the Republic.*" "*Say rather,*" replied the General, "*it is yourſelf, iraſcible and obſtinate old man.*"

The deputies were conducted into another room, and after having dined were conveyed to Tournay, under the eſcort of a ſquadron of the Berchiny huſſars. Along with them Dumourier diſpatched a letter to General Clairfait,

 ſtating

ſtating, that he had ſent him pledges of reſponſibility for the conduct of the Pariſian factions, and deſiring that the miniſter of war might be treated with more attention than the reſt of the commiſſioners.

Upon the whole it will appear, that General Dumourier was compelled to adopt this meaſure of arreſting the Deputies, and alſo to put them in the hands of the Auſtrians, having himſelf no place of ſecurity in which he could confine them: it is, however, to be remembered, that the Prince of Cobourg having conſented to act as auxiliary to General Dumourier in eſtabliſhing the Conſtitution of France, and in effecting the ſafety of the Royal Family, the deputies were in fact the priſoners of Dumourier, and particularly as far as their being hoſtages might have aſſiſted the latter purpoſe, for the accompliſhment of which the General had long and earneſtly wiſhed. The abſurdity, precipitation, and blindneſs of the French Convention is viſible throughout this tranſaction. It may alſo be obſerved, that Camus, the moſt haughty and inflexible of the four deputies, diſcovered great rancour againſt the unfortunate Louis XVI. and came poſt from the Liege to Paris in order to vote for his death. On the preſent occaſion, he had precipitately left the frontier of the country, in order to procure a decree for the purpoſe of arreſting the General. This decree he dictated, and deſired to execute it himſelf: his behaviour during the conference has been already deſcribed, and it was doubtleſs by his auſtere and unrelenting diſpoſition, that the other commiſſioners were prevented from embracing the advice of Dumourier, and returning to Valenciennes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Formidable attempt to aſſaſſinate the General—His Interview with Colonel Mack—He returns to the Army—Departs with ſome faithful Officers and Troops for the Imperial Quarters.

DUMOURIER ſent Colonel Montjoye as ſoon as poſſible after the arreſt of the deputies to acquaint Colonel Mack with the circumſtance, and to fix the time and place for another conference. Being alſo informed, that a congreſs of the Allied Powers was ſhortly to be held at Antwerp, he ſent General Valence to Bruſſels for the purpoſe of being nearer the vicinity of the congreſs. The whole of the night was employed by Dumourier in compoſing a ſhort manifeſto, in which he recited the events of the day, and ſtated his reaſons for arreſting the commiſſioners; inſiſting, particularly, on the neceſſity of procuring hoſtages, to prevent the Jacobins from adding to their enormous crimes. This manifeſto was digeſted the following morning, when Dumourier went to the camp and explained the whole of his conduct, in an addreſs to the troops, who received him with enthuſiaſtic approbation. He then went to St. Amand, where the corps of artillery was poſted, and was there welcomed in a manner equally gratifying, though much pains had been taken by the Jacobins to corrupt theſe latter troops.

Dumourier reſolved to paſs the night at St. Amand, to evince the confidence he placed in the artillery corps: at that place he received the anſwer of Colonel Mack, by which it was agreed that the Prince of Cobourg, the Arch-Duke Charles, and the Baron de Mack, ſhould meet Dumourier

mourier the next morning, between Bouſſu and Condé, to determine on the movements of the two armies, and the number of Auſtrian troops which, in caſe of neceſſity, were to be ready to aſſiſt the Generals plans. On the 3d of April the whole day paſſed with tolerable tranquillity among the troops, who (except a few battalions of national volunteers) were unanimouſly ſatisfied with Dumourier's conduct. For the purpoſe of baniſhing intrigue and cabal, and of removing the ſoldiers from the ſuſpicious neighbourhood of Valenciennes, the General intended on the 5th to take a new poſition by Orchies, which would alſo have enabled him to menace Liſle and Douay. Had the General taken this poſition before, it is probable that his meaſures would have been more ſucceſsful; but ſo much depending on the diſpoſition of the troops, and the national character being ſo extremely capricious, it is difficult now to pronounce what effect would have reſulted in ſuch circumſtances. The very defection of the troops from Dumourier, however ſudden and abrupt, is in ſome degree to be admired: they were armed for the defence of their country; they ſaw their General negotiate with the enemy; he had only been able to explain to them his motives in general terms, and they imagined themſelves betrayed, being unconſcious of the ſtipulations made by Dumourier for their ſafety and the honour of France. The General, relying entirely on their attachment, never attempted to influence their opinions by force or corruption. The impreſſion made by his words was therefore eaſily effaced; and the vigilant activity of the Jacobins more calculated to ſucceed. Previous to Dumourier's removal to Orchies, he ſaw the neceſſity of making himſelf maſter of that fortreſs, in order to regulate the movements of the Auſtrians, his treaty with whom it would have been improper

proper to avow, till he could acquaint his troops with the whole of the transaction, and have begun to march to Paris. On the morning of the 4th the General departed from St. Amand for Condé, leaving General Thouvenot at the former place to regulate the projected movement, and watch the temper of the troops. Dumourier had ordered an escort of 50 hussars to attend him, but not arriving so soon as he expected, and the time for his conference with the Prince of Cobourg drawing near, he left one of his Aides-de-Camp to follow him with the escort, and departed with the Duc de Chartres, Colonel Montjoye, Colonel Thouvenot, some Aides-de-Camp, and eight hussars, in all a company of about 30 persons. Between Fresnes and Doumet, and within half a league of Condé, he met an officer, who was sent by General Neuilly to inform him, that there was a commotion in the garrison, and that it would not be prudent for the General to enter the place till it should be ended, whether favorably to him or not. General Dumourier sent back the officer, with an order, that the 18th regiment of cavalry should be dispatched from Condé to Doumet for the purpose of escorting him. A short time before, he had overtaken three battalions of volunteers, who were marching with their baggage and artillery towards Condé: having given no orders for this movement of the battalions, he demanded with surprise of their officers where they were marching; they answered to Valenciennes. The General observed, that the place they had named was at their back, and that they were going towards Condé. He had stopped by a ditch to let this column pass, and being at the time he spoke those words in the midst of the troops, he has since greatly wondered that he was not then arrested by them. The officer from General Neuilly arrived with the

message

meſſage that has been mentioned, while theſe battalions were in ſight. Dumourier compared in his mind their ſtrange movement with the ſtate of the garriſon of Condé, and withdrew an hundred paces from the high road, deſigning to enter the firſt houſe in Doumet, and write an order for the return of the three battalions to their camp at Bruille: at this moment the head of the column ſuddenly quitted the high road, and ran with hideous ſhouts and cries towards the General, who remounted his horſe, and rode to a broad ditch beyond which was a marſhy ground: he then heard the words, "*ſtop, ſtop,*" accompanied with loud inſults and reproaches. This made him determine to paſs the ditch, but his horſe refuſing to leap, he was obliged to clear it on foot, and had ſcarcely got over, when a diſcharge of fire arms ſucceeded the former noiſe. All the column of troops was in motion, the head and the centre endeavouring to overtake the General, and the rear to get between him and the camp of Bruille, to which he bent his courſe. Dumourier was now on foot, and in a moſt dangerous ſituation. The Baron de Scomberg, throwing himſelf from his horſe, inſiſted that the General ſhould mount it: this Dumourier refuſed, becauſe it would have been at the eminent hazard of the Baron's life: he was at laſt prevailed to mount a horſe belonging to a ſervant of the Duc de Chartres, and who being very active eſcaped on foot. The General's horſe was taken by the volunteers, and triumphantly carried to Valenciennes: two domeſtics of the General and two huſſars were killed. Colonel Thouvenot had two horſes killed under him, and was at length ſaved by mounting behind Baptiſte; the latter (ſtill Dumourier's faithful attendant) had alſo two horſes ſhot dead under him. Cantin, ſecretary to the General, was taken and executed.

This

This unfortunate young man poſſeſſed great abilities, courage, and patriotiſm. More than 10,000 ball were diſcharged by the battalions in this odious attempt to aſſaſſinate their General. Dumourier being unable to regain the camp of Bruille, proceeded along by the Scheldt; he was yet purſued, though not ſo cloſely as before: he got at laſt to a ferry, at a ſmall diſtance from the village of Wihers, in the Auſtrian territory, and there, along with five other perſons, he croſſed the river. The reſt of the company that were with the General got to the camp of Maulde, though in much danger from a fire of muſquetry. When Dumourier had paſſed the river, he went on foot over a moraſs to a houſe in the neighbourhood, into which he was at firſt refuſed admittance, but after mentioning his name, was received by the worthy owner with great cordiality. He then proceeded on foot to Bury, where the Auſtrian dragoons of La Tour were quartered: from that place he wrote to Colonel Mack, and then took ſome refreſhment, which he greatly wanted. The General was now joined by Baptiſte, who had paſſed through the camp, ſpreading every where the alarming news of this event. In the courſe of the day it was made known to Dumourier, by Baptiſte and others, that the reſt of the ſoldiers were entirely ignorant of the deſertion and ſanguinary attempt of the three battalions, who had been, in conſequence, purſued by the eſcort of huſſars, and ſome other cavalry, but by ſuddenly wheeling, had eſcaped to Valenciennes: it was told the General that his return to the camp was demanded by the troops with the greateſt inquietude. The day was too far advanced for Dumourier to join his army, he therefore waited for Colonel Mack, to explain to him the cauſe of his not having been able to fulfil the morning

appointment. In the evening Colonel Mack arrived, and Dumourier, after relating the danger he had eſcaped, obſerved, that this attempt at aſſaſſinating him was only the crime of a few diſſolute battalions of national volunteers; that it was deteſted by all the regular troops of the army; that they were impatient for his return to manifeſt their attachment, and that he ſhould certainly take the advantage of this diſpoſition, by going to the camp in the morning, in order to lay open his original plan to the troops, and purſue it with their co-operation.

Military courage was perfectly familiar to Colonel Mack, but that accompliſhed officer has ſince confeſſed, that Dumourier's reſolution to go back to the camp exhibited a ſpecies of bravery, to him infinitely more wonderful than any that could appear in the ſcene of battle. Part of the night was employed by the General and Colonel Mack, in digeſting the Prince of Cobourg's proclamation, which, together with that of Dumourier, appeared the following day. It was expreſſed by the Prince of Cobourg in his manifeſto, that he was now but an auxiliary to Dumourier, for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the General (whoſe principles he thoroughly approved) in his endeavours to reſtore the French Conſtitution. This proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg has been cenſured, but with great injuſtice, for much real advantage and true glory might have been gained by the Auſtrians in co-operating with Dumourier, and by that means avoiding the expence, loſs of time, and effuſion of blood unavoidably attendant on a war againſt France, if conducted on other views and principles.

At break of day on the 5th of April, Dumourier with an eſcort of 50 Auſtrian dragoons proceeded to the advanced guard of the camp of Maulde, where he was received with every

every token of joy and affection: he then designed to proceed for St. Amand, and prepare for the removal of the troops to Orchies. While he entered the city, he was informed by one of his Aides-de-Camp, who came on full gallop, that the artillery had been told by the Emissaries of the Jacobins, that Dumourier was drowned in attempting to pass the Scheldt, and fly to the Austrians; that in consequence of this intelligence, they had sent a deputation to Valenciennes, and were now going to march there, having previously driven away their generals. From the impulse of passion Dumourier would instantly have attacked St. Amand with the troops by which he was escorted; he was, however, soon convinced by his officers of the dangerous impropriety of this measure, as having no infantry, his escort would be exposed to destruction by the fire of the artillery. Shortly afterwards the corps of artillery went into Valenciennes, but the equipages of the officers, and the treasure of the army still remaining in the city without any guard, Dumourier commanded them to be brought after him to Rumegies, a village within half a league from his camp, and which was protected by a part of his advanced guard. The prime and strength of the French army consisted in the artillery corps; and when its defection became known, the camps were filled with confusion and dread, and great numbers of the officers and troops followed their example. General la Marliere in particular had pretended the utmost dislike of the Jacobins; he was the confidential friend of General Valence, who in departing for Brussels entrusted all his baggage and effects to the care of la Marliere, desiring that he would send them to Tournay, but the latter deserted to Valenciennes, and applied all the General's property to his own use.

The defection of the troops in the camp was made known to Dumourier while he was at Rumegies dictating orders to the different corps of the army; it was, therefore, neceſſary for the General to think of his own ſafety. He went on horſeback, and without any eſcort, to the quarters of General Clairſait at Tournay; being accompanied by General and Colonel Thouvenot, the Duc de Chartres, Colonel Montjoye, and Lieutenant-Colonel Barrois, a few other officers, and ſome aides-de-camp.

In an hour afterwards the whole regiment of Berchiny, fifty cuiraſſiers, and half a ſquadron of the huſſars of Saxe, followed, bringing with them the equipages of the General and ſtaff officers; but Dumourier's ſaddle-horſes had been ſtolen by one of his grooms, who deſerted.

The troops mentioned, together with others that followed the General, amounted nearly to ſeven hundred horſe and eight hundred infantry; they were the brave and faithful companions of Dumourier in victory and in misfortune, and they followed his fate, without the leaſt influence of ſolicitation. None of the General's orders had been executed in the confuſion occaſioned by his departure: it was the 6th before Lieutenant-General Vouillé, who had the command of the advanced guard, received the order to withdraw the troops from the camp of Maulde, and which it was by that time not in his power to perform; he therefore retired to Tournay. The ſame ſtep was taken by Major-General Neuilly (who had been compelled to leave Condé), Major-General De Bannes, Second, De Dumas, and ſeveral of the chief officers of the volunteer battalions. Lieutenant-General Maraſſé, Major-Generals Ruault and Berneron, with Colonel Arnaudin, arrived at the ſame place ſhortly afterwards.

Two

Two millions of livres in ſpecie was in the treaſury of the army: a battalion of chaſſeurs had conveyed it from St. Amand to Furnes, between Condé and Valenciennes: they thought of ſharing it among themſelves; but being likely to fall out on the ſubject, they determined to make a merit of conducting it to Valenciennes. They were purſued by a ſquadron of the dragoons of Bourbon, headed by Soliva, one of the commiſſaries of the Ardennes: the treaſured was retaken on the glacis of Valenciennes; but the dragoons were compelled to abandon it at Furnes, being preſſed by new battalions. The ſituation of the General would have been very different had this money been ſecured; for the ſmall army, compoſed of the troops by which he was followed, would ſoon have been increaſed in numbers, Dumourier being able to provide for their ſupport. The General has frequently been charged with applying the treaſure of the army to corrupt the troops: facts, and his conſcience, acquit him of the crime; though to the leader of a party it would have been an expedient highly ſerviceable. Dumourier, who could not ſtoop to the arts and the villainies of a demagogue, would probably, under a ſettled government, have performed with ſucceſs the functions of an ambaſſador or a general; but the violent convulſions of his country have taken from her the ſervice of talents, that, in a pardonable egotiſm, may be ſaid to have been cultivated with care, and exerciſed with advantage. An opportunity of ruling the affairs and deſtiny of France was a flattering bribe to ambition; but Dumourier would not accept it at the price of moral principle: and he now experiences great felicity in reflecting that he has failed in his meaſures, from a repugnance to the crimes that became neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

General Dumourier and Colonel Mack arrive at Mons—Congreſs held at Antwerp—The Prince of Cobourg's ſecond Proclamation—Dumourier departs for Bruſſels.

IT was directed by General Clairfait, that the troops which might arrive from Dumourier's army, ſhould be cantoned in the villages about the town of Leuze, where the French officers were to reſide. The General, attended by the Duc de Chartres, Colonel Thouvenot, Colonel Montjoye, and Lieutenant Colonel Barrois, ſet out for Mons, paſſing through Bury, to confer with the officer in command at the advanced poſt of the Auſtrians, about protecting the retreat of ſuch French ſoldiers as ſhould be diſpoſed to join the Imperial army.

The truce had been faithfully kept by the Auſtrians, who might have entirely deſtroyed the French army in the confuſion of the 5th of April; and who, much to their credit, afterwards received the French refugees in the moſt generous and cordial manner.

At Bury Dumourier found Colonel Mack, and they departed together in the General's carriage for Mons. They agreed that Condé ſhould be immediately beſieged by the Auſtrian army, and that it ſhould be ſummoned to ſurrender in the name of General Dumourier. The General wrote the ſummons accordingly, and ſent it to the head quarters of the Imperialiſts. It was alſo agreed, that the French officers and ſoldiers who had left the army with Dumourier, having loſt their military cheſt, ſhould be put on the ſame eſtabliſhment with thoſe in the Auſtrian ſervice; that a return of them ſhould be made for that purpoſe; that the Imperial

perial treaſury ſhould advance 30,000 florins, to be put into the hands of the French ſtaff officers for the pay of the troops, and that Dumourier ſhould have the rank and eſtabliſhment of General of artillery. This advance of 30,000 florins, was to be conſidered as a loan to the party of Dumourier, who engaged to reimburſe it on the firſt progreſs that ſhould be made in their conſtitutional expedition.

Agreeably to theſe arrangements Dumourier, by the order of the Prince of Cobourg, prevented 10,000 florins to be advanced to the French refugee ſoldiers at Leuze, as this would probably be a ſufficient temporary ſupply before entering France. From motives of delicacy, the General was unwilling to aſk for the whole ſum agreed to be advanced; it was alſo determined, that the General ſhould reſide at the Abbey of St. Ghiſlain, near the Quarters of the Prince of Cobourg, at Bouſſu, till he and his troops were ready for the undertaking. Here Dumourier cannot omit the duty of avowing his gratitude to the principal officers of the Auſtrian army, for the kind and reſpectful treatment they ſhewed him; to them Dumourier appeals for a teſtimony of the intégrity and franknefs of every part of his conduct that paſſed under their obſervation. About this period, a friendſhip was contracted between Colonel Mack and General Dumourier; a friendſhip, which on the part of the latter, time will never diminiſh: every amiable quality together with the higheſt military talents, are centered in Colonel Mack, and juſtly account for the great influence of his opinions in the Imperial army.

The reception of Dumourier at Mons, Tournay, and through the whole country was very flattering, and evinced the gratitude of the inhabitants for the care and order with

 which

which the General conducted the retreat of his army from Holland. Dumourier, while minister of foreign affairs, had prevented an unjust confiscation of the property of the Prince of Lambesc-Lorraine, and of the Princess of Vaudemont: the former now took an opportunity of expressing to the General his grateful recollection of that essential service.

The Prince of Cobourg and Colonel Mack departed on the 7th of April, to be present at the congress which was to be held at Antwerp, and from whence the Prince returned on the evening of the 8th: those two days were spent by Dumourier among his fellow refugees, for whom he had procured an establishment in the Imperial service: the command of these troops was taken by General Vouillé, and Dumourier, with the assistance of General Thouvenot, endeavoured to reform them according to the Austrian discipline. The General quitted them on the evening of the 8th, feeling a presentiment that he should never return to his companions in misfortune: he arrived at Mons on the morning of the 9th, and found the Prince of Cobourg proceeding for his head quarters. Dumourier accompanied the Prince, conversing with him on the state of their affairs, and in the evening he went to occupy the quarters appointed for him at the Abbey of St. Ghislain.

On the 10th of April, in the morning, Dumourier received a proclamation of the Prince of Cobourg, dated the 9th, and by which the former proclamation of the 5th was intirely annulled. This second proclamation declared, that henceforward the Prince of Cobourg was to carry on war against France, on account of the Emperor, and hold such towns as he might capture, by right of conquest, and with a view to ultimate indemnification.

By

By this meaſure all hopes of the exertions of the conſtitutional party were deſtroyed, and the combined powers in appearing to be influenced by the rapacity of conqueſt, have conſolidated the opinions of the French armies in favour of the republic, the aſſertion and ſupport of which they now conceive to be the only means of ſaving their country. This proclamation, ſo injurious to the credit and ſucceſs of the campaign, was iſſued by the deciſion of the miniſters of the confederate powers at the congreſs of Antwerp. Dumourier now perceived that the plan he had concerted with the Auſtrians was abortive; and without making uſeleſs remonſtrances, he determined to act conſiſtently with principle, and the character he had hitherto maintained.

Proceeding directly to the quarters of the Prince of Cobourg, the general obſerved, that he chearfully acknowleged the obligations under which the kindneſs of the prince had laid him, and that he hoped ſtill to retain his favourable opinion; but that it was by no means his intention to aſſiſt in diſmembering the country of France, ſuch a proceeding being totally different from the object of the treaty he had before the honour to conclude with the Prince; on that account he requeſted to decline any further public connection with the Imperial army. This delicacy in the conduct of Dumourier excited new tokens of eſteem and approbation from the Prince of Cobourg, the Arch Duke Charles, and Colonel Mack. The general then ſet out for Bruſſels, but previous to his departure, had the ſatisfaction of being aſſured that his faithful officers and troops would be properly treated, and retain their rank in the Auſtrian army.

When Dumourier arrived at Bruſſels, he communicated the reaſons for his conduct to Count De Metternich, the Emperor's miniſter in the Netherlands, from whom he received a paſſport for Germany, after experiencing the moſt kind and friendly treatment.

CHAP. XV.

The General's Memoirs concluded—His Political Sentiments —His advice to the Emigrants—And Reflections on the State of France.

THE memoirs of Dumourier are now ended, by the relation of every public event in which the General has been concerned; and perhaps the calumny, perſecution, and danger, which have attended the ſubſequent part of his life, may afford materials for another addreſs to the world, at a future period. It has not been the temper of Dumourier to hate even his enemies, the different claſſes of whom have been diſtinguiſhed either in aſperſing his character, attempting his life, or ungenerouſly refuſing him a place of ſhelter.

The behaviour of the firſt he conſiders as the reſult of an ignorance of the true ſtatement of thoſe extraordinary circumſtances which have accompanied his public career; the ſanguinary attempts of the ſecond, he attributes to a blind political fanaticiſm, unreſtrained in its fury by the cleareſt reaſon, and the beſt intentions; prejudice and evil report, induſtriouſly ſpread, have doubtleſs occaſioned him to be conſidered as a dangerous character by the third.

Many emigrants, and miniſters of foreign courts, have aſſerted the probability of Dumourier's changing his opinions, again heading the French armies, and aſſiſting, by his talents, to prolong the reign of anarchy. The proſcription that has baniſhed him from France, and the proclamations, in which he has ſo fully and forcibly ſtated his ſentiments, ought to preclude, and will, in every candid mind, prevent the ſhadow of ſuch a ſuſpicion. Dumourier does not heſitate to declare, that he loves his country, even in the midſt of its exceſſes; for which, in proportion to the ardency of

his patriotic feelings, he is afflicted with the deepeſt ſorrow. He abhors, and has freely invoked the puniſhment of heaven upon the wretches, whoſe crimes have diſtracted and diſhonoured France; but the delirium of the whole people he views with a kinder and pitying regret, and is ſhocked at the apparent diſtance to the end of a war, the continuance of which is ſo repugnant to humanity. The reſtoration of order, in France, is a moſt deſirable object; but till the motives of thoſe who profeſs to have undertaken the taſk, be very ſatisfactorily explained, the inhabitants of that country, however they may wiſh to repoſe from internal tumult, will give little credit, and ſtill leſs co-operation, to the efforts of external inference. The diviſions, and mutual hatred, known to exiſt between the different claſſes of emigrants, takes no ſmall degree of reputation from their cauſe, and renders ſtill farther diſtant the probability of their being able to bring their countrymen to reaſon. The firſt claſs is headed by the princes of the houſe of Bourbon; it conſiſts of courtiers, dignified eccleſiaſtics, and thoſe who filled the principal parliamentary and financial offices; the perſecuting frenzy of the Jacobins has driven, and the habitual influence of high rank has attracted the inferior nobles to the ſupport of this party. The ſecond claſs ſeems to rank under the ſtandard of the brave, the loyal, and unfortunate Fayette: theſe conſiſt of perſons who were actuated by the reaſonable wiſh of eſtabliſhing a conſtitutional monarchy, a conſiderable part of them were members of the firſt national aſſembly; and there is no doubt that though they endeavoured to extend the limits of popular freedom, they were equally averſe from diſorder and acceſs, as from deſpotiſm itſelf: theſe well intentioned patriots were ſoon ſacrificed to the Jacobinical intrigues and violence of Paris. To the notions of equality they had propagated, the populace gave a literal and abuſive inter-

interpretation, by which every attempt to combine order and liberty was licentiouſly oppoſed. The third claſs of emigrants are chiefly compoſed of Dumourier, his military friends, and thoſe members of the convention who voted againſt the death of the king: they are ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the ſecond, but by a period of emigration ſomething later. The firſt claſs are juſtly cenſurable for their attachment to the faults of the old deſpotiſm, and for their haughtineſs, frivolity, and extravagance, even in the predicament of exile. The ſecond and third claſſes (between whom there exiſts but a ſhade of difference in principle) by a cordial union might conſiderably aſſiſt in reſtoring peace and order to their unhappy country. To all deſcriptions of Emigrants Dumourier thinks it his duty to give this advice: that it is at leaſt not conſiſtent with *prudence* to brand an immenſe majority of twenty-five millions of people with the name of Rebels. Such a conduct muſt inevitably tend to irritate rather than ſoothe the diſtractions of France, which, though threatened with a war-breathing vengeance, by thoſe who have always been its political enemies, ought to be approached with tenderneſs and caution by individuals, who have received their birth within its territory. In theſe Memoirs it has been the object of Dumourier not to depart from candour and truth; for while he reprobates, with the moſt ſincere abhorrence, every criminal tranſaction that has diſgraced the Revolution, he does not ſcruple to declare, that neither the crimes of faction, nor the errors of the people, ſhall prevent him from feeling an attachment to the intereſts of France; the impulſe of which would at any time induce him to ſacrifice his life upon the leaſt proſpect of honourable advantage to his country.

FINIS.